DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 288 761 SO 018 386

AUTHOR	Carroll, James D.; And Others
TITLE	We the People: A Review of U.S. Government and Civics Textbooks.
INSTITUTION	People for the American Way, Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	87
NOTE	78p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Citizen Participation; Citizenship Education; *Civics; Constitutional History; Constitutional Law; Governmental Structure; Secondary Education; *Social Studies; *Textbook Content; *Textbook Evaluation; *United States Government (Course)
IDENTIFIERS	United States Constitution

ABSTRACT

The objective of this textbook review was to evaluate the textbook's capacity for imparting the knowledge and skills necessary for democratic citizenship along with an enthusiasm for civic participation. A panel of scholars reviewed 18 U.S. government and civics textbooks on the basis of: (1) coverage, (2) engagement, (3) constitutional themes, and (4) relationships between the branches of government and among governments. The reviewers found that, in general, the government texts are encyclopedic in scope and impressive in comprehensiveness. However, a tendency to avoid controversial subjects made them lifeless descriptions of the origins, structures, and relationships of government. Second, most of the books are visually engaging, but not intellectually or emotionally compelling. Third, although the books include the text of the U.S. Constitution and explain basic constitutional principles, they fail to emphasize values and processes that have emerged from the document, such as due process and equal protection. Fourth, the interactions and strains among the components of government and between governments are not fully or creatively explained. Reviewers recommended, first, that the approach be changed from imparting information to preparing students to become concerned citizens. Second, controversial issues should be discussed fairly and explicitly. Third, students need to learn the value of public participation by becoming involved. (SM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED288761

WE THE PEOPLE

★ ★ ★

A REVIEW OF U.S. GOVERNMENT AND CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

People For The American Way

The nonpartisan constitutional liberties organization.

TEXTBOOK REVIEW SERIES

SO018386

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

B.T. Napolitano

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

5-19-87

We The People

A REVIEW OF U.S. GOVERNMENT AND CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

James D. Carroll
Walter D. Broadnax
Gloria Contreras
Thomas E. Mann
Norman J. Ornstein
Judith Stiehm

1987 by People For The American Way
1424 16th Street, NW Suite 601
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 462-4777

People For The American Way is a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization. Contributions to People For the American Way are tax deductible.

The views expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the funders, officers or members of People For The American Way.

People For The American Way
The non-partisan constitutional liberties organization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY would like to express its gratitude to the members of the review panel, who gave their time and expertise to the project: Dr. James Carroll (chairman) and Drs. Walter Broadnax, Gloria Contreras, Thomas Mann, Norman Ornstein, and Judith Stiehm.

Our appreciation goes to Christy Macy and Donna Hulsizer for their editorial work on this volume and to Timmy Napolitano for her coordination of the project. Special thanks to Michael Hudson who presented the preliminary findings to the Texas State Board of Education; to Jill Craig and Mary Freeborn, whose talents at the computer helped shape this book; and to David Crane, Director of Issues Development, who supervised the entire project.

We are grateful to the Reed Foundation, Cummins Engine Foundation, the Deer Creek Foundation, the Sunnen Foundation, the Spectrum Fund of National Community Funds (A Project of the Funding Exchange), and the Field Foundation for their generous support of this latest volume in our textbook review series.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword i

Overview iv

About the Authors xi

U.S. Government Textbooks

Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1
Magruder's American Government
William A. McClenaghan

Center for Civic Education 4
We The People...
William Baker et al

Coronado Publishers, Inc. 7
We Are One
John R. Whitman et al.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 11
American Government: The Republic in Action
Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr.

Harper & Row Publishers, Inc. 16
An Introduction to American Government
Kenneth Prewitt, Sidney Verba and Robert H. Salisbury

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 18
American Government
Armin Rosencranz and James B. Chapin

Little, Brown and Company 21
Government in America
Robert L. Lineberry

McGraw-Hill Book Company 23
American Government
Allan O. Kownslar and Terry L. Smart

Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company 27
American Government: Principles and Practices
Mary Jane Turner, Kenneth Switzer and Charlotte Redden

Scribner Educational Publishers 32
Government in the United States
Richard C. Remy, Larry Elowitz and William Berlin

Scott, Foresman and Company 36
Consent of the Governed
Marcel Lewinski et al.

The Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. 39
Lessons on the Constitution: Supplements to High School Courses in American History, Government and Civics
John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy

West Publishing Company 41
Great Trials in American History: Civil War to Present
Lee Arbetman and Richard L. Roe

Civics Textbooks

Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 43
Civics: Government and Citizenship
Jack R. Fraenke et al.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 46
American Civics
William H. Hartley and William S. Vincent

McGraw-Hill Book Company 48
Civics: Citizens and Society
Allan O. Kownslar and Terry L. Smart

Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company 51
Civics: Citizens in Action
Mary Jane Turner et al.

Scott, Foresman and Company 54
Civics for Americans
John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy

FOREWORD

In the 1986 elections, more than 100 million eligible voters chose not to go to the polls. A mere 38 percent voted, the third lowest rate of voter participation in our history. The figures for young voters are even worse; only 7 percent of 18 to 24 year-olds cast their ballots.

Americans seem to see little connection between their daily lives and the political life of this nation. The most basic rights guaranteed by our Constitution are taken for granted, met with cynicism, or misunderstood. A recent survey found that while a majority of Americans favor changes in the Constitution, many are ignorant of its basic principles. Only 59 percent know that the Bill of Rights is the first ten amendments to the Constitution; 60 percent are unaware that the Senate plays a role in confirming Supreme Court justices. As we celebrate the Bicentennial of our Constitution in 1987, this new evidence of ignorance and apathy is especially troubling. The greatest experiment in democracy is dishonored by our collective indifference.

While this apathy has many sources, our review of U.S. government and civics textbooks identifies one that is significant for the next generation of voters: the failure of textbooks to encourage young people to uphold their rights and carry out their obligations as citizens. Our children are learning about a government inspired by the revolutionary concept "We, the people" from textbooks that downplay the role of the people.

Our panel of scholars and educators noted that these eighteen texts are impressive in their breadth of coverage, attractive, and well organized. In general, the civics texts, intended for the junior high level, do a better job of involving students. Two books stand out; *Civics: Citizens in Action* (Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company) and *We Are One* (Coronado Publishers, Inc.) rate an A grade. The vast majority of the other texts, however, pass with C's or worse. They are good reference materials, but they read like the *Federal Register*. These same books need also to engage the student in examining what government is all about and what their role in it could and should be. As one of our reviewers noted, "If these books are representative of how government is being taught, then government is a dead subject."

The encyclopedic nature of these texts may be their greatest failing. Readers are led to conclude that what is most important to learn about government is facts, facts, and more facts. Dates, names, and places abound, with little context to link them. What emerges is a portrait of government as lifeless institutions and mechanical processes, remote from politics and citizens.

What is missing, in a word, is controversy. Eighty percent of the civics books and half of the government books minimize conflict and compromise. The dynamic sense of government and politics -- the fierce debates, colorful characters, triumphs and tragedies -- is lost. Controversies like school prayer and civil rights that have ignited passions at all points along the political spectrum are ignored or barely mentioned. The vitality of political involvement and the essential give and take between people and their elected officials is neglected. One text drily asserts, "Conflicts ... between citizens and government may be settled according to law."

Most important, the crucial role of participation is not highlighted. One of the books reduces participation in the political process to this statement: "Religious groups sometimes try to influence public policy on civil rights, abortion, and foreign policy." Controversy and compromise are central to democracy, but if students are led to believe that the work of democracy is done, that no problems remain unsolved, they will see no need for their involvement. As one reviewer put it: "If there are no injustices to right and no villains to defeat, it is hard to get excited."

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights should be the heart of civics and government study. The survival of our democracy depends directly on citizens' ability to translate an understanding of constitutional values and procedures into civic participation. Yet two of the books go so far as to place the Constitution at the very end, while half of the others fail to weave constitutional themes throughout the book. One textbook devotes more space to an examination of the three types of colonies under British rule than to the ideas of Locke, Montesquieu, and others whose work and thought influenced the framers of the Constitution. As a result, the Constitution is treated like a postscript to government, thus denying students the crucial context for understanding our democracy. If we do not give students a working knowledge of the charter of our freedoms and the role they must play in protecting them, urging their participation will be an empty exhortation.

The result of this dry recitation of facts is texts that encourage young people to be bystanders in democracy rather than active citizens. These texts fail to instill a sense of civic responsibility, challenge students to think critically, or urge them to get involved in public life. Textbooks should be inspiring as well as informative, compelling as well as comprehensive, fascinating as well as factual. The subject by nature lends itself to debate, problem-solving, and analysis, but the texts discourage such active learning. For example, one text recommends this activity: "Research the judicial branch of government and prepare an outline of the findings."

Most young people do not read daily newspapers or watch the evening news. They learn about government by watching "Capitol," about the legal system by watching "L.A. Law," and about business by watching "Dallas." For most, their only formal introduction to their government is their civics and government curricula. Textbooks that fail to engage them and to portray a compelling role for them can only contribute to a habit of passive, inactive citizenship. Today's bored student is tomorrow's apathetic citizen. Today's nonreader is tomorrow's nonvoter.

These texts continue a pattern discovered by PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY in two previous textbook reviews. In a misguided effort to please everyone and offend no one, textbook publishers have removed or downplayed subjects that are controversial. In biology texts, it was evolution that suffered neglect. One-half of the texts covered evolution inadequately, and fully one-sixth did not mention it at all. In history, it was the topic of religion that was avoided. The role of religious movements, ideas, leaders, literature and art was largely censored from history. In civics and government, controversy itself is the problem. This results not only in books that are bland and "dumbed-down" but also in a distorted curriculum. Students using such books are learning an incomplete version of science, history, and government.

This basic deficiency in all three subjects is more than a concern for educators; it is a broader public issue as well. Excellence in education requires that students understand the basis of modern science and the significance of religion throughout history. And government and civics curricula are even more important. While every student will not become a biologist or an historian, they are all citizens. Thomas Jefferson well understood the role of education in a democracy; as he eloquently declared, there is "no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion."

If we are to ensure that tomorrow's citizens are "enlightened enough to exercise their control," we must expand the approach to teaching government. Rather than shy away from controversy, textbooks should use it to teach students to think critically about the conflicts in American government, to recognize the choices that always need to be made, and to see their role in public decisions. Rather than being encyclopedias of facts, textbooks should be lively and engaging, encouraging students to stay informed and get involved.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to the Bicentennial of the Constitution would be to make government the new favorite subject in high school.

Anthony T. Podesta
President
People For The American Way

March 1987

OVERVIEW

Introduction

This review of civics and U.S. government texts used in junior and senior high school examined a range of materials: thirteen commonly used general textbooks, three books devoted to study of law and the Constitution, and two advanced placement texts. Our main objective was to evaluate the texts' capacity to impart to students the knowledge and skills necessary for democratic citizenship, as well as a lively enthusiasm for participation. As the United States enters its third century of constitutional government, we face a renewed challenge to promote citizen participation in all aspects of governance. We wanted to gain a sense of how our schools are approaching that task.

For the most part, our reviewers found that these books are solid works of scholarship -- thorough, current, informed. They are rich compilations of information on the origins, structure, and operations of American government and politics. They are well designed and well illustrated.

But our reviewers agree that many of the books have a common, major deficiency. While they are impressive collections of facts, they are intellectually and pedagogically dull tools for inspiring effective participation in the democratic political process. Many of the books are largely disembodied expositions of principles and facts, lacking the passion of the conflicts that infuse politics and government with meaning and significance.

The problem is less with the individual books than in their general didactic approach. The student is asked only to master knowledge of the subject rather than to put this knowledge to use. Thus, the participatory side, the side that requires the individual to analyze democratic values, processes, and choices, is largely ignored.

I do not mean to minimize the importance of "facts," e.g., what does the Bill of Rights provide? I am well aware of the studies that show that Americans and American students don't know elementary facts about politics and government. But good reference materials are not enough. These same books should also involve the student in analyzing government and their role in it. If these books are representative of how government is being taught, then government is a dead subject.

Criteria

In reviewing these texts, the panel drew upon general criteria to judge how well the books cover the necessary material (including controversial events and issues), how well they engage the student both intellectually and emotionally, how well they cover the Constitution and its themes, and how well the books describe the relationships and tensions within the various branches of government, between citizens and the government, and between the United States and the international community. The criteria appear on p. viii.

Summary Findings

Applying these criteria to all texts, we found significant strengths and weaknesses.

1. For the most part, the **American government** texts are encyclopedic in scope and impressive in their comprehensiveness. They strive, with considerable success, to encompass the broad range of the history and operations of American government.

Yet, while most of the texts are good syntheses of information, there are errors of both omission and commission. The reviewers noted a tendency to avoid controversial subjects, especially those relating to constitutional issues. The review of *Magruder's American Government*, for example, notes, "The Watergate scandal and the resignation of Richard M. Nixon are mentioned only in passing." There are also a number of factual errors. In *American Government: Principles and Practices*, for example, the authors assert that the appointment of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) does not require Senate confirmation, which in fact it does.

The emphasis upon factual information is both a strength and a weakness. While teaching the basic factual knowledge of a subject is essential, an overemphasis on facts crowds out explication of concepts and opportunities for grappling with problems. Students are generally not called upon to use the information conveyed, even when the issues are of immediate consequence to them, e.g., the issues and conflicts involved when public school authorities search students' lockers without their knowledge or consent. As a result, the texts are often lifeless descriptions of origins, structures, and relationships.

The **civics** texts are designed not so much to provide comprehensive information about government as to prepare students to become informed, active citizens. With a few exceptions, the texts combine information with exercises and materials for skill development. For example, *Civics: Citizens in Action*, begins with a discussion of what citizenship means and then addresses the individual's role in society, with emphasis on the development of various skills, e.g., analyzing the news and registering to vote.

The civics texts differ fundamentally from the government texts in their explicit efforts to promote participation in the political process. The reviewers found this emphasis appropriate. With one exception, they also found the more selective presentation of factual information appropriate to the purpose of the books. In general, the reviewers found the texts somewhat more effective in dealing with immediate concerns of students than with broader issues of governance.

2. Most of the government texts are visually engaging -- replete with illustrations, graphs, and examples -- but not intellectually or emotionally compelling.

The reviewers found that the government texts -- some more than others -- fail to challenge the student to think critically or creatively. The reviewer of *American Government: Principles and Practices*, for example, found much to praise but identified the book's primary weakness as "an overreliance on a recitation of mounds of facts at the expense of any analysis or serious attempt to raise the issues of conflict and controversy that grip the American political system."

With a few notable exceptions, these texts fail in several ways to engage students. They fail to adequately demonstrate how the individual can make a difference in this society, and they tend to give short shrift to the important role of public and private interest groups and their influence on government policy both locally and nationally. Further, the government texts generally do not urge participation in the political process or indicate how the student can participate. Again, there are exceptions, particularly *We are One* and *American Government: The Republic in Action* and the advanced placement texts.

In sharp contrast, with one exception, the reviewers found that the civics texts do challenge the student to solve problems and participate in civic activities. For example, *Civics: Citizens in Action* extensively uses problem-solving exercises, charts, graphs, and other devices to engage the reader. The reviewer commented: "You truly experience citizens in action as you proceed through this volume...there are places where the excitement is virtually palpable."

3. All of the government books reproduce the text of the Constitution and explain basic constitutional principles. They also cover major developments in constitutional history, e.g., the Fourteenth Amendment and the Doctrine of Incorporation. However, the books do not sufficiently emphasize the values and processes that have emerged from this document to shape our society, such as due process and equal protection.

The books vary widely, for example, on the extent to which the Constitution is explained early in the text and used throughout as a context for other subjects. Several of the books, such as *Consent of the Governed* and *American Government: The Republic in Action*, do establish basic constitutional principles early in the text and apply these principles throughout. Others, such as *American Government: Principles and Practice* and *Government in the United States*, defer treatment of this topic to the middle or end of the text. As one reviewer commented, "My largest single problem with the structure of the books is that the detailed discussion of the Bill of Rights and the important areas and controversies surrounding individual rights issues clearly at the heart of any analysis of *American Government* come near the end of the book ... and the book suffers as a result."

Two of the specialized volumes reviewed in this project, *We The People* ... and *Lessons on the Constitution*, provide valuable supplementary material on law and the Constitution, as does *Great Trials in American History*.

4. Both the government and civics books generally explain and analyze the relationships among the components of government and among governments. But the interactions and strains of such relationships are not fully or creatively explained. An important weakness in this area is that most of the texts do not deal extensively with the changing forms of political action, e.g., the influence of the media, interest and lobbying groups, and political action committees. This neglect implies that these are not important influences and trivializes these forms of political expression. The advanced placement texts cover this subject well.

Other areas that should be strengthened in most of the texts are descriptions of the relationships among science, technology, and government and the discussions of the U.S. government's relationship to other national governments.

Conclusion

The important issue here is what is being taught and how: factual information about American government, mastery of the concepts and methods that undergird our system, or the role of each citizen in the process of governing. All are important dimensions of the subject, but the texts put too much stress on facts and too little on concepts, methods, and participation. As a result, the texts too often are static descriptions of dynamic processes, ignoring questions of belief and value at the heart of people's "lives and fortunes and sacred honor."

Recommendations

In general, we face the challenge of developing a fresh approach to the subject of government, one that brings it to life and induces the student to think critically about American public values, the conflicts among them, and the difficulty and necessity of continuously making choices. It is not our purpose to urge the recreation of a curriculum for teaching civics and government, but our review leads us to offer the following general recommendations:

1. The overall approach to teaching government in high schools should be changed from merely imparting information to more broadly preparing students to become concerned, active citizens.

2. The Constitution, and particularly the Bill of Rights, should be explained early in the text and used throughout as a context for discussion. Greater emphasis should be placed upon constitutional values through the use of case studies, profiles of individuals, and significant Supreme Court cases.

3. Controversial issues and events should be discussed fairly and explicitly.

4. Students will learn the necessity and value of public involvement by becoming involved. Passive learning alone will not engage them. A work-study or internship element should be a basic component of American government courses. Students should be able to "practice" some aspects of responsible citizenship and observe firsthand the workings of politics and government.

James D. Carroll
The Brookings Institution

March 1987

CRITERIA

Coverage

The material covering the history, structure, and functions of the government is accurate and reflects the latest authoritative research. Generalizations are adequately supported by evidence. Original documents essential to the understanding of our government are provided, i.e., the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Both the strengths and weaknesses of our form of government are presented.

Terms, practices, and ideas are embedded clearly in place and time. Basic concepts and major turning points, as well as social and political trends, are treated in sufficient depth for students to develop an understanding of their historical significance.

Engagement

The text is well written, stimulating, interesting, and challenging. The material engages the reader both intellectually and emotionally. It is not boring or "watered-down." The book is more than an encyclopedia of facts; it stimulates students to envision the ideas, issues, and values behind concepts. The textbook enhances the presentation of material through appropriate and meaningful design, use of color, and illustration.

Critical reading, thinking, and writing skills are encouraged. Students are encouraged to distinguish fact from interpretation. Imaginative thinking, both in formulating questions and discovering creative solutions, is encouraged. The text challenges students to work through complex situations analytically and engages them in the process of making independent choices among competing concepts and priorities.

The textbook demonstrates the critical role of the citizen in a democracy and encourages individual participation and civic responsibility. Examples of individual efforts that exemplify the role of the citizen are given. Case studies involve students in intellectual, historical, and political dimensions of issues.

Constitutional Themes

Questions about the meaning, interpretation, and application of the Constitution throughout American history are fully discussed.

Constitutional principles embodied in the Bill of Rights, such as religious liberty and freedom of speech, are treated sensitively and accurately and are well integrated into the text. Case studies involving challenges to constitutional liberties and freedoms are discussed in ways that enable students to relate them to their lives.

Relationships

Distinctions among the three branches of government are examined. Students are involved in the discussion about the appropriate role of each branch and are encouraged to compare their changing influence throughout history. The dynamic relationships among the branches are studied through concepts as well as structures such as the notion of executive privilege and the function of an independent judiciary.

Included in this discussion is the relationship between government and political parties, the economy, science and technology, and the international community. The relationship between the government and public opinion is discussed, including the views and activities of private, public interest, and religious institution.

Note: All criteria do not apply to each text. Reviewers have omittted criteria when appropriate.

x

BOOKS REVIEWED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

American Government, McGraw-Hill Book Company (1983)

American Government, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. (1982)

American Government: The Republic in Action, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. (1986)

American Government: Principles and Practices, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company (1987)

An Introduction to American Government, Harper & Row Publishers, Inc. (1987)

Consent of the Governed, Scott, Foresman and Company (1987)

Government in America, Little, Brown and Company (1986)

Government in the United States, Scribner Educational Publishers (1987)

Great Trials in American History: Civil War to Present, West Publishing Company (1985)

Lessons on the Constitution: Supplements to High School Courses in American History, Government and Civics, The Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. (1985)

Magruder's American Government, Allyn and Bacon, Inc. (1987)

We Are One, Coronado Publishers, Inc. (1987)

We The People..., Book One, Experimental Edition, Center for Civic Education (1986)

CIVICS

American Civics, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. (1987)

Civics: Citizens and Society, McGraw-Hill Book Company (1983)

Civics: Citizens in Action, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company (1986)

Civics for Americans, Scott, Foresman and Company (1986)

Civics: Government and Citizenship, Allyn and Bacon, Inc. (1986)

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Panel Chairman

Dr. James D. Carroll is a senior staff member of the Center for Public Policy Education at The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. He is also an adjunct professor of public policy and administration at both the Maxwell School, Syracuse University, and the Public Policy Program, Georgetown University. Dr. Carroll received his A.B. at Cornell University, his Ph.D. from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, and his J.D. from the College of Law, Syracuse. He is a member of the New York State and Federal bars. Among other positions, he was director of Government Research Division, the Congressional Research Service, the Library of Congress, and consultant to the Education Department, the State of Tennessee, the Office of Management and Budget, the Commission on the Operation of the United States Senate, the Department of Justice, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the World Bank. He has written extensively on government accountability and public policy.

Panel Members

Dr. Walter D. Broadnax is a member of the public policy faculty at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Policy Planning and Evaluation at the Department of Health and Human Services in the Carter Administration, Dr. Broadnax has extensive experience in state and local government and is now directing a Ford Foundation project at Harvard on innovation and change in state and local governments. Dr. Broadnax has written extensively on public policy and management, minorities in public life, and ethics in public service. He received his Ph.D. from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University.

Dr. Gloria Contreras is an Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Texas at Austin. A former public school teacher in Texas schools, she chaired the Publications Committee of the National Council in Social Studies (NCSS) and has authored several publications on racism and sexism in social studies education. A Fulbright scholar, Dr. Contreras has specialized in international education, and has worked with Bolivian, Colombian, and Mexican officials in that area and the role of foreign languages in business relations overseas. She has served on the Board of Directors of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

Dr. Thomas E. Mann is executive director of the American Political Science Association. Prior to that, he was co-director of the Congress Project at the American Enterprise Institute and director of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program. Dr. Mann has taught at Georgetown University, the University of Virginia, American University, and Catholic University and has served on the Democratic National Committee's commission on presidential selection. He lectures frequently in the United States and abroad on various aspects of American politics. Among his published works are *Unsafe at Any Margin:: Interpreting Congressional Elections*, *The New Congress*, and *The American Elections of 1982*.

Dr. Norman J. Ornstein is a research scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. A former American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow, Dr. Ornstein is the editor of a number of public television programs on how government works, including the PBS series *The Lawmakers* and *Congress, We the People* . He has taught political science at Catholic University, the University of Michigan, and Johns Hopkins University, and has written extensively on Congress and government. Among his published works are *Congress in Change* and *Interest Group Lobbying and Policy Making*.

Dr. Judith Stiehm is Professor of Political Science and Vice Provost at the University of Southern California. She received her Ph.D. from Columbia University. At USC, Dr. Stiehm was the director of the Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society. She has written and edited six books on the subject of women's roles in our society, and received the Phi Kappa Phi Scholarly Book Award and the Dart Award for Academic Innovation.

Title: ***Magruder's American Government***
Author: William A. McClenaghan
Publisher: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
Reviewer: Thomas E. Mann

Overview

In 1971, the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education issued a report that noted a number of characteristic weaknesses in the instructional materials used to teach government and politics in junior and senior high schools. The materials were criticized for:

1. Transmitting a romanticized image of political life that confuses the ideals of democracy with the realities of politics.

2. Placing undue stress upon historical events, legal structures, and formal institutional aspects of government while failing to transmit adequate knowledge about political behavior and processes.

3. Reflecting an ethnocentric preoccupation with American society and failing to transmit to students an adequate knowledge about the political systems of other nations or the international system.

4. Failing to develop within students a capacity to think about political phenomena in conceptually sophisticated ways.

The authors of the report concluded that *Magruder's American Government*, then the most widely used twelfth-grade civics and government textbook, suffered from all of these shortcomings. For example, they noted that approximately forty percent of the book consisted of very lengthy, chapter-by-chapter descriptions of the statutory history, legal powers, and formal organization of various cabinet departments.

My review of the 1987 edition of this textbook reveals that vast improvements have been made during the intervening years; many of the criticisms noted in 1971 no longer apply. In fact, I believe *Magruder's American Government* is now an acceptable textbook with several clear strengths and some lingering weaknesses.

Criteria

Coverage

It is obvious that the author and editors of *Magruder's American Government* have worked hard to address the criticisms that were leveled at earlier editions. The book is remarkably comprehensive. Information is effectively presented in a series of charts and tables, such as the ones on off-year elections and House-Senate differences. The current edition is not as blatantly romanticized, formal, and ethnocentric as critics charged earlier editions were, and it shows serious efforts to develop analytic and participation skills. Nonetheless, some residue of past shortcomings remains.

First, the chapters on Congress and the presidency give too much space to descriptions of legal arrangements and not enough to politics. For example, little or nothing is said about the constituency base and home style of congressmen, how elections to the House and Senate are conducted, congressmen's voting decisions, party unity on roll call votes, or the congressional budget process. The student is given little guidance in understanding what makes a successful presidency, how presidents deal effectively with the Congress, or how public opinion shapes the relationship between the two branches. The section on federal finance offers no insights into contemporary debates on the deficits and budget policy; the chapter on foreign affairs and national security has little to say about the politics of foreign policy-making. Overall, the book fails to provide a basis for understanding how and why the president and Congress work together and at odds.

The text does include examples of the shortcomings of our system of government while conveying a generally positive impression of American democracy both in theory and practice. For example, the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II is presented in a way that shows a "grave injustice" was done. (This case is also developed more fully in the *Annotated Teacher's Edition.*) The long and continuing struggle for civil rights by blacks is included in several chapters, and the problems associated with our campaign finance system are given a full discussion.

The book does cover a number of controversial public issues such as gun control, right-to-work laws, prayer in the schools, and the nuclear freeze, presenting the strongest arguments on both sides and inviting the students to form their own opinions.

Some important topics, unfortunately, are not fully developed. The Watergate scandal and the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon are mentioned only in passing. The same is true of debates surrounding abortion, busing, and publication of the *Pentagon Papers*. The treatment of these topics is unbiased, but the coverage is inadequate. No mention is made of FDR's court packing, for example.

The book often fails to incorporate contemporary scholarship when it is appropriate to do so. For example, the chapter on parties fails to discuss the growing importance of the national party committees and spends too little time on differences between Democrats and Republicans. Gender differences in the 1980 and 1984 elections are dismissed without comment, and nothing is said of the influence of the state of the economy on the vote. The chapter on public opinion contains a dated discussion of political socialization (recent research notes a growing divergence in political affiliation between parent and child), and no treatment at all of how people think about politics or the nature of and basis for liberal and conservative ideologies. The discussion of seniority fails to note the rapid membership turnover in Congress, the importance of younger members, or the constraints on committee chairmen. The section on presidential nominations avoids making the obvious point that national conventions now usually ratify choices made in primaries and caucuses.

The book occasionally lapses into a romanticized and overly ethnocentric view of American democracy. For example, in the course of making a perfectly valid point about the failure of Marx to anticipate the diminution in class conflict, the book states baldly, "The economic gap between workers and owners has narrowed almost to the point of extinction, especially in the United States." It would be useful if the book presented comparative data on income distribution and discussed their implications.

In the course of my review, I found a number of minor factual errors. Max Kampelman is misidentified as Kenneth Adelman in the picture on page 487. The table on "Presidential Cost per Voter" (p. 247) is highly misleading and does not comport with the text below it. Political Action Committees (PACs) can contribute $5,000 in a primary and $5,000 in the general election to the same candidate (p. 252). Party ratios on major House committees are larger than, not equal to, party ratios in the House (p. 321).

Engagement

The book encourages participation in and respect for the political process in various ways. Students learn early about the fundamental value of the worth of the individual and the necessity of compromise -- of reconciling competing views and interests -- in a democratic system. Participation skills are developed in a series of exercises and personal histories. The treatment of parties, elections, and interest groups invites individual involvement.

In summary, however, while the text uses many devices to engage and educate students (e.g., chapter objectives, review questions, summaries, skill applications, questions for thought and discussion, and suggested activities), its strategy of conveying numerous discrete facts may well subvert its educational mission. The book is too comprehensive, too rote, too bland. It would profit from some lively extended case studies of political events and public policy issues.

Constitutional Themes

The book is especially strong in demonstrating the constitutional basis of American government. Chapters Two and Three discuss the origins, framing, and ratification of the Constitution, the principles underlying it, and the ways in which the constitutional system changes over time. The entire text of the Constitution is included along with a useful topical outline. Each chapter is placed within an overall constitutional framework, and the specific provisions of the Constitution are given concrete meaning.

The book also does an excellent job of dealing with civil rights and civil liberties. The chapters on the Bill of Rights and their nationalization through the Fourteenth Amendment are informative and fair-minded. Issues involving freedom of speech, the press, and religion are addressed forthrightly, and there is no evidence that the author has sought to avoid controversy in this area. The tension between separation of church and state is developed through discussion of major Supreme Court cases, and explicit attention is given to the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses.

Title: ***We The People... do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America***
(Book One, Experimental Edition, August, 1986)
Authors: William Baker et al.
Publisher: Center for Civic Education
Reviewer: James D. Carroll

Overview

We The People... is a secondary-level text prepared by the Center for Civic Education, a California-based, nonprofit educational corporation established by and affiliated with the State Bar of California. It was prepared for a National Bicentennial Competition on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, which will be conducted in secondary schools from 1987 through 1991. As of August 1986, the text was in an experimental form. This review covers only the experimental edition of Book One. A final edition of Book One will be produced in 1987, as will a second book.

To some extent, *We The People...* can be approached as a free-standing text and set of materials designed to be used as the basis for a course on constitutional government in the United States. It can also be used as a supplement to courses in American history, government, or civics. Because the text focuses primarily upon the Constitution *per se* and related documents, the coverage of constitutional concepts and developments is deeper and more extensive than coverage of these subjects in most secondary school history and government texts. In this respect, *We The People...* fills a gap between secondary school texts that cover the Constitution as one element in American history and government and more extensive college and law school texts and case books on the Constitution and constitutional law. In some ways, *We The People...* resembles *Lessons on the Constitution*, a supplement to high school courses in American history, government, and civics produced by the Social Science Educational Consortium and Project '87, a joint effort of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association.

The *Teacher's Edition* that accompanies the text is useful. It provides a good overview of each lesson, a statement of objectives, suggested teaching procedures, group activities, and optional individual and group exercises. The *Teacher's Edition* could be strengthened by adding a few key, current references to each lesson.

Overall, *We The People...* is a substantial contribution to the literature for teaching secondary school students about the Constitution, particularly the basic concepts and principles expressed in that document. The text is organized and written in an engaging way, it involves the student in deliberation on the central questions involved in the constitutional system, it provides a good selection of materials to be used in considering the questions, and it provides enough information to permit the formation of informed judgment on the issues. In the hands of a motivated teacher,*We The People...* should makea substantial contribution to improving understanding among secondary students of constitutional government in the United States.

Criteria

Coverage

Book One covers the political philosophies the founders brought to the Constitutional Convention, their experiences with government, and how the Constitution was developed and adopted. Book Two will cover the changes in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the responsibilities of citizens in a constitutional democracy.

We The People... is intended to help students understand the origins and history of the principles and ideas about government embodied in the basic documents of the nation's history. It is also intended to help students understand the central issues debated during the ratification of the Constitution.

The text is organized analytically. For example, Unit One asks: Why have government? What is a social contract? What makes a good or bad government?

The following units proceed in this manner to raise questions about the experience of the colonies with government, the problems that led to the Constitutional Convention, disagreements not resolved at the Convention, and the argument between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists.

Engagement

The use of an interrogatory style brings an inquiring spirit to the materials and invites engagement by the reader with the questions posed and the material presented. The overall organization of the material, as well as the organization and presentation of specific sections, pursues a logic of inquiry designed to challenge the reader to think through such subjects as separation of powers in contemporary as well as historical contexts.

The text balances inquiry with exposition, including definitions of central terms, some historical examples where pertinent, and references to and quotations from classic works and key documents, e.g., Cicero's *Res Republica*. In general, the authors skillfully raise questions and present enough material to encourage pursuit of the questions but do not engage in exposition so dogmatic as to kill the possibility of genuine inquiry. In general, I think the authors tend toward more exposition than may be necessary, although it is clearly essential to provide the reader with enough information to permit the formation of an informed judgment. Overall, however, the authors successfully avoid the tendency in many history and government texts to pile fact upon fact in an encyclopedic fashion, often without any apparent purpose.

Constitutional Themes

In general, the fundamental concepts and principles on which the Constitution is based are covered very well -- the concept of government itself, the idea of a republic, the concept of constitutional government, the separation and sharing of powers, representation, limited government, federalism, and fundamental rights. Two caveats are in order. First, Book One does not cover judicial review, the concept of constitutional change, or the Bill of Rights. These are to be covered in the second book. Second, the coverage of basic concepts and principles is good, but the coverage does not extend to current cases and controversies, e.g., federalism as affected by *Garcia* v. *San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority*. Perhaps this limitation could be overcome by assignments to students of current Supreme Court cases (or excerpts from cases) on the issue under review.

It should be stressed that this book explicitly focuses on constitutional questions. It does not attempt to relate these in a systematic way to economic and social developments. This could be regarded as a limiting factor.

Overall, however, the treatment of constitutional issues is informative and provocative. The great merit of the book is that it challenges the student to think through many of the difficult questions of life in a democracy. It is an excellent addition to the institutional material for teaching about the constitution and government.

Title: ***We Are One***
Author: John R. Whitman et al.
Publisher: Coronado Publishers, Inc.
Reviewer: Gloria Contreras

Overview

We Are One has many strong points. It is an accurate and engaging account of the dynamic American political system, describing both its strengths and weaknesses. It treats students as thoughtful citizens with important civic responsibilities to fulfill. Ample supplementary material and primary source documents are skillfully used to involve students in the historical and political dimensions of critical events and issues.

The text is an impartial account of the history, structure, and functions of American government. No one particular viewpoint or political association is emphasized, and the spectrum of politics from ultraconservatism to socialism and communism is fairly explained. In its elaboration of the two-party system, the role of third parties in American politics is also included. *We Are One* offers students ample opportunity to study the pros and cons of a wide array of issues (i.e., the case for or against the use of mass media by political candidates; whether or not laws should be passed to control campaign financing; and whether to refute or support the use of the death penalty for all those convicted of major crimes).

With regard to multicultural considerations, race, ethnicity, and gender, *We Are One* sustains a respectable pluralistic perspective. This sensitivity is evident throughout the text. For example, women and minority political figures are prominently presented throughout the text (i.e., Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Geraldine Ferraro, Dianne Feinstein, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Margaret Thatcher, Madeline Kunin, Paula Hawkins, Tom Bradley, Henry Cisneros, and Mario Cuomo). The chapter on voting displays valuable data on voter turnout in the November 1984 election according to ethnic, gender, age, and socioeconomic status.

The book is also attractively produced, making extensive use of photographs, charts, art, and other colorful illustrations that support the text's narrative.

Criteria

Coverage

The political ideas and developments from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about what government ought to do are embedded clearly in place and time. Chapter Five is an effective elaboration of the early American experience. But, the reader also acquires an appreciation for the concept of social change and the major turning points in U.S. history that have led Americans to improve their government. Overall, the American system of government is seen as an enduring and flexible operation, filled with conflicting values and interests, and faced with unresolved problems. To keep the reader abreast of relevant supplementary material, the text offers a convenient annotated bibliography of publications -- written primarily since 1980 -- for each chapter.

According to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), effective social studies programs do not shy away from controversy. Social studies by its very nature is controversial, and teachers must deal with critical issues and the world as it really is. For the most part, controversial issues are appropriately integrated into *We Are One*, and the chapter "Basic Freedom and Equal Justice" deals specifically with the discrepancy between the law and the actual practice of how the rights of citizens have been interpreted by the courts throughout our history. The story of Daniel Ellsberg, the Miranda decision of 1966, and the 1985 Supreme Court ruling that gave school administrators the right to legally search students' lockers are discussed within this context.

Other court decisions delineated in *We Are One* relate to issues involving obscenity, libel, symbolic speech, peaceable assembly, and religion. It is clearly pointed out that the Supreme Court has found no easy or simple answers to constitutional issues of the separation between church and state. The book, for example, shows how some decisions prohibit government aid to religious groups, while other decisions permit it. Overall, this is a fair discussion of a difficult topic, particularly as it relates to politics and public opinion.

In its discussion of the Fourteenth Amendment, the text states, "Turning the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment into reality for all Americans, particularly Americans who are members of racial minority groups, has been a long struggle." The controversies surrounding desegregation, the civil rights movement, busing, affirmative action, and immigration exemplify the difficulty of extending the Fourteenth Amendment to include the rights of special populations. The section ends on a positive note, showing Rosa Parks as an individual who made a difference in changing society. There is also coverage of *Roe* v. *Wade*, with "Jane Roe" presented as an agent of change.

Engagement

We Are One is an attractive text that should appeal to many students. It is more than a compendium of facts in chronological order. The text stimulates students to discern the values and ideas behind the issues that Americans have resolved in the past. The notion of change is ever present, and each chapter begins with an effective introduction, called "Making Connections," that attempts to intellectually engage the reader. For example, the chapter on elections states, "In your lifetime, you will receive many messages through television and the other media intended to influence your vote. If you want to be an informed voter, you should know how to interpret these messages..."

Another strong feature of this textbook is the emotionally engaging unit on voting, political parties, and elections, particularly the first chapter on voting. It is a cogent appeal to students who will soon vote that furnishes the opportunity for decision-making, and provides relevant data on voter turnout rates by voting age population. It also describes a plan for a "Get Out the Vote" campaign. Eight of the twelve photographs depict young people actively involved in the voting process.

Every unit features a case study around an important "Document of Democracy," such as the Monroe Doctrine, Mayflower Compact, or Marshall Plan. Two activities are then set up to challenge students to work through the complex situation relating to each document. For example, presentation of the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments requires that students examine Elizabeth Cady Stanton's list of grievances to determine whether they have been answered in a way that she would find acceptable. A study of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization challenges students to determine why the signing of the NATO pact initiated a new era in U.S. foreign policy. Such cases involve students in the intellectual, historical, and political dimensions of these documents of democracy.

The review section at the end of each chapter recommends activities designed to enable students to apply concepts in a meaningful context and to develop writing and critical thinking skills. This section helps summarize the chapter, tests the students' level of knowledge, and promotes an appreciation for democratic beliefs and values. Overall, the exercises that develop information-processing skills are effectively carried out through the presentation of pertinent and colorful data bases (charts, graphs, tables, and maps) to be analyzed by the students.

One regularly featured activity designed to foster democratic beliefs and values requires students to apply historically important values (i.e. liberty, justice, the right to security, and the common good) to their immediate lives. For example, the text elaborates upon how the Statue of Liberty has become the most renowned symbol of freedom and democracy in the world. A follow-up activity calls on students to interview an individual who came to America from another country about his or her reasons for relocating, and to determine how their own interpretation of liberty differs from that individual.

The writing activities are particularly well structured, with emphasis on basic writing skills. For example, the text provides students with a model topic sentence to get them started.

The text also gets high marks for visuals. Its colorful illustrations are very effective, and the photographs are directly related to the written text, not random space fillers.

Another important feature for teachers is the pacing chart that assists them in meeting the needs of lower-achieving students. The beginning teacher should derive more than adequate support from the *Teacher's Edition.*

Constitutional Themes

A valuable feature of *We Are One* is the treatment of the Constitution and its amendments early in the text. Presented in its entirety, the Constitution is accompanied by a glossary of constitutional terms and, for the most part, practical teaching suggestions for the teacher. Unfortunately, however, the class activities, discussions, and research projects lack relevance and interest. One dry activity, for example, calls for students to "research the judicial branch of government and prepare an outline on the findings."

Initially, the Bill of Rights is presented in a straightforward manner. Later in the text, each amendment's application and interpretation through history is investigated. The First Amendment, for example, is discussed in light of landmark cases treating rights of minorities, rights of persons accused of crimes, freedom of speech and the press, and the regulation of business and industry. A special feature of *We Are One* is a section in each unit discussing relevant Supreme Court cases. In addition, a separate five-page section on landmark Supreme Court cases is provided in an easy-to-read format that includes the consequences of each ruling.

Relationships

We Are One successfully demonstrates the dynamic relationships that prevail among the three branches of government. For example, to explain how relationships between two branches of government can conflict at times, the authors treat the concept of executive privilege in light of the Watergate affair and the case of *United States* v. *Richard Nixon*.

This text does a commendable job of elaborating upon the relationships between government and political parties, interest groups, the economy, and science and technology. It reveals how the two-party system has grown in response to the needs of the American political system, and how parties shift in response to changing political ideas. There is a detailed explanation of the way in which citizens, businesses, unions, and other groups can influence public policy. An entire unit is devoted to the economics of government, but the topic is also embedded in the entire text.

In pointing out the important relationship between government and science and technology, one of the most interesting discussions involves the *Diamond* v. *Chakrabarty* case, in which the

Supreme Court ruled that a microorganism was a patentable subject matter. The case was used to show "the challenges that courts face in applying laws created in the past to technology that was never even dreamed of when those laws were enacted."

A serious shortcoming of *We Are One* is the failure to establish linkage between the United States and the international community. The theme of the "interconnectedness" of the world is a critical one that needs to be explored by social studies teachers, according to the National Council for the Social Studies.

In the chapter "Modern Comparative Government," the book does explain the concepts of sovereignty, nation, and first-to-fourth worlds as the basis for developing a higher level of understanding of the international situation. But teachers will have to supplement the coverage of Europe, Japan, Canada, Mexico, and the Soviet Union with other examples from Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

Title: ***American Government: The Republic in Action***
Author: Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr.
Publisher: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
Reviewer: Walter D. Broadnax

Overview

American Government: The Republic in Action is, with several specific limitations, a solid textbook. The author follows a skills-development approach throughout the text, judiciously using charts, graphs, tables, maps, and photographs from specific periods to enrich the prose of each section and chapter. By coupling the teaching manual (*Teacher's Edition, Part II*) with the basic text (*Annotated Teacher's Edition, Part I*), the teacher will have various strategies and approaches to the material, as well as guidance about teaching the fundamental intellectual issues underlying the various subjects. The approach stresses building vocabulary, developing key concepts, and checking the students' understanding of the material at the conclusion of each section.

To some extent, a major strength of this text, its scope, is also one of its weaknesses. The coverage is so broad and so inclusive that many subjects needing fuller treatment so that students might clearly understand their import are treated superficially.

Overall, however, when the *Teacher's Edition* is coupled with the basic text, there exist the tools for creating an engaging, provocative, and thoughtful presentation of American government.

Criteria

Coverage

Mr. Hardgrave does an excellent job in terms of coverage. He takes the student from the Magna Carta and the theory of the origins of the state through the Founding Fathers and the development of the Constitution. He then proceeds to cover the guarantees of civil liberty; the importance of public opinion and interest groups; the bureaucratic systems and politics; government finance; the courts; the criminal justice system; and, finally, state and local government. His treatment of the various cabinet agencies at the federal level is particularly impressive.

The author shows the student the workings of government through lucid examples of governmental departments and agencies and the services they provide for citizens. Within each of these chapters, he profiles a particular activity, highlights an issue, or illuminates hidden aspects and nuances of important concepts such as the balance of trade, the gross national product, bureaucratic red tape, and the role of the whistleblower.

The book closes appropriately by introducing the student to state and local government. It is here the author gives the reader a taste of the differences and similarities among states, cities, and towns across the United States. Different states and their constitutions are introduced and highlighted, and the work of state and local governments is explicated. Furthermore, Hardgrave introduces the student to the subject of intergovernmental relations, including the structure, function, and problems of city governments.

The major strengths of our form of government are clearly and positively presented: the benefits of earning a living, a flexible Constitution, the meaning and importance of an active, involved citizenry, and the importance of pluralism.

Unfortunately, the weaknesses of our governmental system are not as clearly or as persuasively presented. Overall, however, the point is made that there are clear shortcomings in our form of government, including various forms of discrimination.

Mr. Hardgrave masterfully extols the power and purpose of our republican form of democracy. He leads the student through the importance of majorities and the need to preserve the rights and dignity of minorities. He brings understanding to this imperative by focusing on minorities as related to the founding families and then examining the concept as it has evolved to include women and minority groups as persons requiring specific protections.

At the end of the *Annotated Teachers Edition, Part I*, the author provides students with what he terms a "Reference Shelf." Here he includes: (1) A United States Political Map; (2) A World Political Map; (3) Governments of the World; (4) Significant Events in American Government; (5) Almanac of Federal Agencies; and (6) a glossary of political terms.

The breadth of presentation, unfortunately, leads to one of the primary limitations of this text -- its intellectual depth. As one reads through the various sections and chapters, one begins to feel peppered with facts without a full explanation of what may have precipitated an event or an outcome. For example, the allusion to the Mayflower Compact leaves the reader saying: "It is clearly important, but it is not entirely clear why." This may be the result of trying to cover such a large amount of material.

Engagement

The writing style of this book is smooth, not turgid, and the ideas come through -- within the constraints already discussed -- quite clearly. I would surmise that high school students reading at grade level should have few, if any, problems comprehending the text. Moreover, the author is careful to have included a glossary, as well as explanatory notes under photographs and at the bottom of pages when he thinks a term or idea needs additional explanation.

Picking up the book and thumbing through it, the reader would be generally impressed with the diversity of presentation. The book does a good job of depicting women, minorities, religious groups, political parties, and political leaders. All things considered, it is a balanced treatment of some very difficult issues. In fact, at times the treatment can seem too balanced. There are instances in which one could imagine stronger statements in discussions of such topics as the Holocaust, Jim Crow, the Japanese internment during World War II, and treatment of Native Americans.

From the beginning of this work, the author introduces the reader to the concept of participation. The concept is first introduced by a drawing that shows King John as he is confronted by the nobles and forced to sign the Magna Carta. The notion that the United States has sprung from a tradition in which participation in the political process is fundamental to governance is clear. Throughout the text, the role of participation is present, whether in the discussions and debate surrounding the Revolutionary War or the March on Washington led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Using specific issues such as religion, immigration, race, and regionality, Hardgrave repeatedly makes the point that participation is fundamental to democracy. The concept is further vivified by his discussion of elections, parties, interest groups, and various individuals who have been able to make a difference in American politics. For example, the presentations of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Franklin Roosevelt, Henry David Thoreau, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., were particularly compelling. These individuals demonstrate the meaningfulness of getting involved and the difference one person can make in how the government operates.

It was pleasing to see the author suggesting to the reader that people still have the power -- through participation -- to change their government. Moreover, the text shows that people ultimately can bring the government down and start anew, if they are genuinely displeased. A solid example of how the process can and should work was the treatment of the Watergate scandal and the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon.

Constitutional Themes

The book begins with a fairly subtle articulation of a fundamental value: Why form a government? As indicated above, the treatment of Locke, the Magna Carta, and the Mayflower Compact leaves the student unsure of the benefits of forming a government. However, the most enlightening part of this discussion is the treatment of John Locke. It is here that Hardgrave lets Locke make the fundamental point about government -- the values underlying the creation of a government and the responsibilities of citizens as part of that government.

Locke's treatise is established early and reaffirmed several times within the text. Moreover, the theme is implicitly played throughout discussions regarding dissent, the separation of church and state, and the more subtle notion of the moral responsibilities of government.

The most shining example of Locke's influence on American government comes in the discussion of the Declaration of Independence. It is here that the notion of mankind's inalienable right to resist, dissent, and even revolt is most clearly articulated by Jefferson. This theme appears again in the discussion of the civil rights movement, and it is implicit in the discussions surrounding church and state, in that people were deemed free to reject state religion and choose their own church or religion.

There is little explicit treatment here of the moral responsibilities of government; the treatment is subtle. Hardgrave sketches various nuances relating to the Bill of Rights, the First and Fourteenth Amendments, social contracts, and fair play as representing the moral responsibilities inherent in the creation and conduct of American government and its institutions. The great moral imperative here is the critical nature of an active, participating citizenry.

First Amendment themes pervade the entire work. Discussions of freedom of speech, religion, and press and the right of people to peaceably assemble are sprinkled throughout and provide the underpinning for various sections and chapters.

The author does an excellent job of pointing out the role and value of public opinion. Moreover, he laces many of his subsequent discussions with themes emanating from the world of public opinion and the power of the media. One gains an impression of the critical role the free press must play in the operation of a democracy.

The book also effectively develops the tension between church and state. Furthermore, the complexity of this issue is demonstrated by presenting several cases, including one involving the Amish on the one hand and the Mormons and a fundamentalist Appalachian sect on the other. In the first instance, *Reynolds* v. *United States* (1879) is discussed as the first major case on freedom of religion to come before the Supreme Court. In this case, the court made a distinction between action and belief. The action to be regulated was the Mormon practice of polygamy, a duty according to Mormon beliefs but a crime under United States law. In the Appalachian Mountains, certain religious sects believe that the handling of poisonous snakes is a test of faith. However, worshippers on more than one occasion have been bitten and died. State laws have been passed against snake handling. Again, the action has been regulated but the worshippers are left free to believe what they wish to believe. The tension between what is rightfully the purview of the church versus that of the state is clearly presented. This is one of the stronger portions of the entire book.

The issue of fairness in the media is covered. The text is especially effective in its discussion of the importance of distinguishing between fair reporting and propaganda. The student should gain a fairly clear understanding of the rudiments of propaganda, how it can be misunderstood as news, and the importance of even-handed reporting.

The right to know, access to information, and media fairness receive a solid treatment, especially within the context of discussing the *Pentagon Papers*. Here, we see these issues joined in a rather complex fashion, with the citizen's right to know juxtaposed with the need to protect material relating to national security. Also covered is the media's right to publish material that may be of national security value. Here again, the treatment was solid and evenhanded.

Relationships

This book gets mixed reviews on explaining the complex relationships and tensions between government, its citizens, and the rest of the world. It is least explicit on the matter of business-government relationships, and it is relatively silent on the issue of the "military-industrial complex." Only through the discussions about gross national product, balance of trade, and other such concepts does the student begin to understand that relationships exist between business and government. It is alluded to in the discussion of the work of the U.S. Bureau of Census, but not treated as directly as needed.

The text does cover interest groups and their relationship to government policy. Voluntary organizations are mentioned, along with de Tocqueville's observation that Americans are a nation of joiners. Specifically, the development, growth, and relative decline of labor unions is fairly well covered. The history of unions, the development of the AFL-CIO, and the role government sometimes plays in controlling union activity are presented in a balanced fashion.

Science and technology receive adequate treatment. It is here that the strands binding private and public sectors together probably get their best explication, although this discussion is embedded in a discussion of the bureaucracy, not business and government.

Separation of powers and the concept of checks and balances receive thorough treatment throughout the book. The tension among the judicial, legislative, and executive bodies is clearly illustrated. Hardgrave points out that the president proposes, while the Congress disposes. He examines the role of the courts and the critically strategic role they play vis-a-vis both the president and the Congress.

The best example of this strategic importance may be found in an examination of the Supreme Court. Whereas members of Congress are responsible to constituencies within their state and districts and the president is responsible to the entire voting public, Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate and, as appointees, have no voting constituency to whom they must answer.

There is a fairly well-rounded discussion of communism, fascism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, and democracy. Sadly, the author does not delve into the relationship between capitalism and democracy and what this might mean as we examine our own governmental experiment.

Foreign policy is looked at within the context of the executive branch. There is also a treatment of "The President, the United States, and the World." Significantly, the writer points out the role of the world's leaders in preserving the peace and the importance of the North-South dialogue in the United Nations.

There is little direct treatment of other forms of government in the world. However, a useful chart is provided that gives the student the official name of the nation, the chief of state, legislature, party system, and suffrage age. Though the chart is an efficient way of providing some coverage of the various world governments, there is little explanation accompanying it. Students and teachers will need to rely on supplementary material to fill in the gaps.

Title: ***An Introduction to American Government***
Authors: Kenneth Prewitt, Sidney Verba, Robert H. Salisbury
Publisher: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc.
Reviewer: James D. Carroll

Overview

An Introduction to American Government is designed primarily for use in college courses, although it could be a suitable text for advanced placement courses as well. It is an intellectually exciting, sophisticated review of American politics and government, centered on political economy -- the relationships among the political system and socioeconomic processes and institutions. The emphasis is upon policy-making by the institutions of the federal government, viewed in the context of the constitutional framework and political beliefs, as well as political and economic action. The overall result is a systematic interpretation of how national policy is formulated and implemented.

Criteria

Coverage

The text is presented in four parts, each with three to five chapters: the basic system; liberty, equality, and justice; ideology and participation; and the system in action. The last section draws upon and integrates material from the first three to describe and analyze how the system works.

Part One, "The Basic System," first addresses fundamental questions about the nature of government, politics, and democracy. It then reviews the constitutional framework as a partial answer to these questions. It concludes with a thorough review of the meaning and evolution of federalism in the United States.

Like the other parts of the book, Part One is developed through exposition of principles and data, examples, and profiles of leading figures associated with the developments under review, e.g., John C. Calhoun in the section on federalism. It includes a brief case study of policy-making involving "Revenue Sharing" at the end of the section on federalism. The examples, profiles, and case studies give specific form to the abstract principles.

Part Two analyzes the relationships between economics and politics, the various meanings of equality and inequality, and fundamental rights. This part also combines explanations with data, examples, profiles, and cases. The separate chapters cover the mutual dependence among political and economic systems and values, types of citizenship, and majority rule and individual and minority rights. Basic issues such as affirmative action, school prayer, and abortion are explicitly covered. This part concludes with a discussion of policy-making through adjudication and the advantages and disadvantages of formulating policy in this way.

In the third part, the authors review political participation, political beliefs, interest groups, political parties, elections, and the media in American politics. While the other parts of the text also include data and examples, Part Three is exceptionally well documented.

"The System in Action," the fourth part, focuses on how the agendas of politics are defined through routines and crises, the actions of policy entrepreneurs, precipitating events, and the impact of elections. It analyzes the budget process and the changes in that process in recent years. It then analyzes the structure, powers, and operations of Congress, the presidency, the bureaucracy, and the court system, and how each acts in making policy. The section is particularly strong in distinguishing different types of policy-making and policy commitments, and the relationships among them. The emphasis in the final part is upon the roles of the formal institutions of the federal government in national policy-making, in the context of the constitutional and political system.

The overall emphasis is upon the federal government rather than state and local governments or governments of other countries. The salient feature of the book is the emphasis upon federal policy as process and substance, the role of federal institutions in making policy, and the influence of other organizations and systems upon these institutions. The book covers the subject of American government very well, effectively combining history, theory, and findings from current research.

Engagement

This book is theoretical in orientation, drawing extensively upon current theories and data from political science, political sociology, and political economy. The overall thesis of the book -- the central importance of policy -- is itself intellectually stimulating. The challenging nature of the book is strongly reinforced by extensive use of examples, findings from current research, and case studies. For example, the discussion of the federal budget process and politics of deficit reduction is exceptionally well informed, current, and thorough.

At the same time, this book does not attempt to make the argument in favor of or defend democratic values, nor does it attempt to engage the student in problem-solving through exercises or the like. As a work of intellectual exposition, it is highly challenging and engaging. It is not -- and does not purport to be -- a book designed to instill civic values. The approach to the subject is dispassionate and analytical.

Constitutional Themes

The treatment of constitutional themes is particularly provocative because the book emphasizes that the Constitution establishes a framework for economic and social, as well as for political and legal, forms of action. Part Two, "Liberty, Equality, and Justice," combines a discussion of the economy and political life and economic inequalities with a discussion of government, the individual, and liberty. It stresses tensions and trade-offs among competing values in the evolution of constitutional interpretation. While many controversial issues are explicitly addressed, e.g., the rights of the accused, the text does not cover the current controversy over the jurisprudence of "original intentions."

Relationships

This book is exceptionally strong in analyzing the relationships between politics and economics; among political beliefs, forms of political action, and the formal institutions of government; and among the institutions of government. The emphasis upon policy as process and substance provides thematic coherence to what otherwise might be disconnected subjects.

However, relatively slight attention is given to international economic and military affairs and the implications of contemporary international trends and developments for domestic governance. The book is weak on international relations, including national security and international economics. For example, NATO is not mentioned. The section entitled "Scarcity: Challenge to American Values" in Chapter Five briefly discusses the oil shocks of the 1970s and the emergence of economic rivals to the United States in the 1980s, but it does not analyze the implications of these and related developments for the United States with the thoroughness with which other subjects are covered.

Title:	***American Government***
Authors:	Armin Rosencranz and James B. Chapin
Publishers:	Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
Reviewer:	Walter D. Broadnax

Overview

American Government is a very ambitious attempt to collect and interpret in one place those themes, ideas, concepts, and facts essential to understanding the scope and functioning of government in the United States. The book is organized into ten units with thirty-four chapters and addenda that include the Declaration of Independence, The Articles of Confederation, Presidents of the United States, Structure of the United States Government, Senate and House Standing Committees, and a vocabulary index. The authors cover the subject broadly, using graphs, charts, illustrations, and photographs throughout to add interest and to elaborate the themes and concepts being presented.

Yet, while the book is inclusive in its coverage, this reviewer is less than confident that the student, by reading the text alone, will come away with a fully developed sense of our system of government and its strengths and weaknesses. Sadly, the book is too descriptive and not sufficiently analytical in its presentation. Although the authors have apparently included everything they could possibly need for a thorough coverage of the subject, the elucidation of the subject is not nearly as complete as the description of its component parts.

This problem can be generally traced to the book's discussion of civic participation. It is not made clear what is necessary for the maintenance of a democratic state or what some of the weaknesses of a democracy are. Students, therefore, do not come away with a summary notion about their system of government and their role in a democratic state. A fundamental objective of an introductory American government text, in my judgment, should be to enlighten the reader on these issues.

Overall, however, this is a solid piece of work that represents a useful vehicle, along with the *Teacher's Guide*, for teaching introductory American government. The *Teacher's Guide* is quite helpful in that it affords the students opportunities to begin to develop an understanding of concepts such as inference and questioning and surveying materials. The guide not only offers a host of enrichment activities but also attempts to help the teacher instruct students on how to think about ideas, concepts, and data. In their effort to teach students to think, the authors present some of the analytical tools used by scholars and others to examine data. Together, the text and the *Teacher's Guide* provide the instructor the necessary set of tools to effectively teach a full course in American government.

Criteria

Coverage

The book opens with the basic concepts of government: (1) theories of government; (2) kinds of government; (3) the nation state; and (4) economic systems. Although the language becomes simplistic at times, the authors begin this book by taking up fundamental questions: Why government? Where does government come from? What is an economic system, and how do economics and politics come together in government? With this beginning, the student is prepared to take up subsequent topics in light of the concepts basic to understanding the emergence of formal governmental systems.

Given the renewed emphasis on state and local government, the authors are to be commended for their in-depth coverage of state and local issues. Particularly interesting is how they focus on problems at the local level, e.g., land use, the elderly, housing, etc. Additionally, this area includes an important discussion of financing issues such as taxation, revenues, transfers, and intergovernmental fiscal relationships.

This reviewer was most intrigued by the chart that provided background characteristics on twentieth-century American presidents. The chart speaks loudly in a very small space about the diversity to be found among this century's leaders. Although they are all white males, they come from diverse backgrounds in terms of wealth, education, religion, and region. Such a chart illustrates clearly to the student the value of a democratic system driven by a broad-based electoral process.

The book broadly covers the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Given the legal background of the lead author, it is not surprising that the judiciary receives exceptionally fine coverage. Moreover, the author devotes a chapter to First Amendment issues, beginning with a historical overview of the Bill of Rights and closing with a rather strong treatment of equal protection.

Participation as a theme is presented in a relatively subtle fashion. Although the concept of democracy and its practice are well covered, the role and importance of participation in the process of governance is not greatly emphasized. While the history of the Greek city-states is presented by the authors, for example, the historical background of democracy and its roots does not get clearly amplified throughout the text.

Proceeding through this book, the reader is made aware of the diversity in the United States population. Women, Afro-Americans, Asians, and various white ethnic groups are presented in ways that elucidate and enhance the various subjects. The pluralistic nature of our country and society comes through in bold relief.

The last aspect of this text worthy of mention in this section is its coverage of the bureaucracy. The authors recognize the role and importance of the bureaucracy and the people who operate it. In three chapters, they cover bureaucracy and bureaucrats, bureaucrats and public policy, and government regulation. In four subsequent chapters, the text covers the cabinet departments, what the authors call special interest departments (Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor), Interior and the Environmental Protection Agency, and the new service departments (Transportation, Energy, Housing and Urban Development, Health and Human Services, and Education).

Engagement

The book is quite engaging in that it does use charts, graphs, and, to a lesser degree, photographs to visually capture the reader's attention. Its "People in Politics" sections present various important figures in American history and politics and afford the reader an opportunity to personalize the subject. For example, the unit on the judicial branch is launched by the presentation of a brief biographical sketch of Louis D. Brandeis. This contibutes to an understanding on the part of the student that it is people active in political and civic life who make the wheels of society turn.

Clearly, the authors wish to encourage civic participation. Again referring to the "People in Politics" sections that precede each unit, we see that people are portrayed in ways designed to help place the unit in an intellectual context as well as to spark the imagination of the reader. The sections challenge readers to begin thinking of themselves in some chosen role or profession and to consider how that role might fit into the civic life of our country. The treatment of Professor

Tony Amsterdam, a Stanford Law School professor, is a case in point. One of the nation's ranking experts in criminal law and civil rights, Amsterdam is both attractive and relatively young. His set of beliefs is articulated, and he is portrayed as a real person practicing his craft actively within the context of American civic life.

In general, the text is quite engaging, but there are times when the prose suffers from being too legalistic in both character and tone. Occasionally, there is a sentence or paragraph that would fit much better into a law school text than an American government book for secondary school students.

Constitutional Themes

There is an entire chapter specifically devoted to the First Amendment. The freedoms of religion, speech, association, and press are covered, buttressed by interesting photographs and a feature presentation about Judge Learned Hand. Unfortunately, this chapter sometimes begins to read like a law text. It becomes terse and obtuse, and even though the tension between church and state is mentioned, the student must work fairly hard to understand that tension. To say the least, the tension between church and state presented here is less than palpable.

Everything necessary for a discussion of First Amendment issues is here, e.g., court cases are cited, photographs depict the Ku Klux Klan and explain peaceful demonstrations, religion in school is explained. Yet a strong sense of what all of this means does not come through.

The book tends to report rather than to exhort. Moreover, the underlying civic values and requisite responsibilities important to the preservation of a fully democratic system of government are simply missing. Although the authors are careful to include images of various minorities, ethnic groups, and women, they fail to unearth the theoretical underpinnings connected to them. The groups are presented reportorially, but they are not anchored by reference to constitutional or philosophical materials that would show the reader why these groups must be included in the mainstream of civic life.

Relationships

This text is exceptionally strong on the role of the courts in our system of government. The executive and legislative branches are clearly and completely covered. The dynamic relationships among the three branches are discussed, and the historical changes in the balance among those branches is presented. Political parties, interest groups, the economy, and the interaction between our domestic political and economic system and the rest of the world are covered here.

The authors cover international events, however, in a segmented fashion rather than relating international issues to the daily functioning of our system of government. For example, the foreign policy decision-making process is shown solely as a series of abstract models lifted from major works like Graham T. Allison's *The Essence of Decision*. The discussion is poorly linked to the interactive nature of domestic and foreign political and economic issues. The student could erroneously conclude from this book that international political concerns operate in a world totally separate from domestic political and economic interests.

On a more positive note, democracy is compared and contrasted with other forms of government such as authoritarianism, totalitarianism, dictatorship, and oligarchy. The authors also provide a comparison of capitalism with socialism and communism. Together, these comparisons give the student a sense of the various forms and degrees of participation available to citizens within these systems of governance.

Title: ***Government in America***
Author: Robert L. Lineberry
Publisher: Little, Brown and Company
Reviewer: Thomas E. Mann

Overview

Government in America is written primarily for use by college freshmen and sophomores. The text presents a much more sophisticated and complex view of American politics than those designed for high school students. While its appropriateness for use in high schools is questionable, it might be suitable for advanced placement courses. Educational Testing Service is presently developing an advanced placement test in American government.

Government in America is distinctive in several respects. It is theoretical in its orientation, giving students alternative perspectives with which to organize and interpret discrete facts. The text, with a major focus on public policy, continuously relates governmental structures and processes to questions of political economy, equality, and resource allocation. It also incorporates in each chapter contemporary research findings.

The text makes no effort to encourage individual participation and civic responsibility. Its purpose is to educate students, not to socialize them in American civic values.

Criteria

Coverage

The book is exemplary in its coverage, both in scope and depth. Virtually every important topic is given some attention, including controversial issues associated with freedom of religion. Particularly impressive are the discussions of public policy issues. The text succeeds in placing today's headlines in a framework that allows students to understand and interpret contemporary political life. For example, today's $200 billion annual budget deficits are discussed in the context of historical patterns of taxing and spending. Current research findings are used to present an accurate and authoritative picture of American politics. The author goes to great lengths to present the weaknesses as well as the strengths of our form of government. Economic, social, and political inequality in America is a constant refrain. For example, a typical question raised in the book is: "Why, then, is there so much inequality in voting, with the rich and the well-educated doing it more than the poor and less educated?"

The text is rich in historical and geographical context. Effective use is made of four local communities to illustrate the consequences of political and economic change. Also useful is the contrast between low-tech and high-tech environments and the emphasis on the influence of the international political economy.

Engagement

This book is well-written, pegged to the reading level of an intelligent college freshman. It engages students intellectually far more than most high school texts by forcing them to think critically and creatively about economic, social, and political problems. The formalism that is prevalent in other texts is absent here (e.g., placing undue stress on legal structures of government while underemphasizing political processes and behavior). Students learn to apply theoretical perspectives and analytical skills to complex and realistic situations. Case studies are used to involve students in public policy issues. Particularly effective are a series of "You be the Judge" exercises, in which students are invited to evaluate civil liberties cases that have been brought before the courts. While these and similar teaching devices are intellectually stimulating, the author implicitly rejects as a goal the inculcation of such civic values as individual participation in the political process.

Constitutional Themes

The Constitution is given a thorough treatment in the text. The author strives to give a realistic portrayal of the Founding Fathers and of the critical issue of equality and the economy (e.g., whose interests were to be served) that shaped the Constitution. For my taste, he leans a bit too far toward debunking. For example, he pokes fun at George Washington, calling him "the premier colonial aristocrat," "one of the richest men in America," and "not above claiming reimbursement for wine, wig powder, portraits, and Martha's visit to the battlefront." At another point, the author derides the reverence with which the Constitution is treated and the deification of the Founding Fathers. This attitude poses no problems for the more sophisticated students, but I wonder if it would breed cynicism among a more impressionable group. Overall, however, the treatment of constitutional themes is thorough and rigorous.

Relationships

The text does an excellent job of showing how the three branches of government work together and at odds. Watergate, budget politics, and foreign policy decisions are used to illustrate the relationships among the branches. It also does a superb job of relating governmental structures to science and technology, the economy, and the international community. The book includes one of the best discussions I have seen of interest groups, including such topics as the economic basis for interest groups, the rise of public interest and single-issue organizations, and the effectiveness of various strategies and tactics.

Title: ***American Government***
Authors: Allan O. Kownslar and Terry L. Smart
Publishers: McGraw-Hill Book Company
Reviewer: Gloria Contreras

Overview

American Government is an average text that covers basic government concepts and history in a conventional manner. While it does not offer an exciting or innovative treatment of the subject, neither does it suffer from glaring weaknesses. Rather, it is a straightforward account of the American political system that could have been made more provocative by injecting a greater sense of the drama and conflict that have characterized American government. The authors try to write a high-interest, problem-oriented text, but the issues are presented in a low-key fashion. For example, they pose the following questions:

> Should there be a means of declaring a Supreme Court Justice disabled?
> Should there be a mini-Supreme Court?
> Should we try to get out the vote?
> Should young people have to pay taxes?
> What are the campaign demands upon a presidential candidate?

These problem situations, interspersed throughout the chapters, enhance and support the narrative, but somehow they come off as rather passionless, undramatic debates. They are too safe to make the book exciting.

A major deficiency of *American Government* is that it fails to encourage civic action and to instill in students a sense of belonging to their nation. For example, the chapter on voting is a detached account of the process by which the voice of the people is heard in a democracy. Instead of exciting students about their right and responsibility to vote, the text asks them to consider arguments for and against drives to get out the vote. The excellent chapter on the special problems of big cities also downplays the role and responsibility of the student/citizen in resolving the disturbing problems that confront our urban communities. Although the first page of this text begins with an engaging vignette about Howard Jarvis and Paul Glenn and their successful drive to reduce taxes for California citizens, this momentum is not sustained throughout the book.

The strengths of *American Government* include the following elements: (1) coherent, well-sequenced organization of the material; (2) the beginning unit, "Our Political Heritage," a reasonably complete and well-illustrated account that traces our political heritage to the ancient Middle East; (3) special coverage of the problems of big cities; (4) the *Teacher's Resource Guide*, containing valuable teaching notes, tests, worksheets, and teaching strategies for students of average, below-average, and above-average abilities; and (5) the relatively easy-to-read style and reading level of the material.

Criteria

Coverage

American Government is organized around twelve coherent units, with remarkably skillful transitions from one unit to the next.

The text begins with "Our Political Heritage," a unit about political beliefs that takes readers to the ancient world and Western Europe before examining political ideas from the thirteen colonies. To better convey the meaning it held for American colonists, the Declaration of Independence is broken down into three parts: the basic rights of the people, the list of grievances, and the statement of separation. This organization, along with some well-formulated questions, offers teachers a practical way of teaching the significance of the document. The formulation of the federal government is the subject of the fourth chapter in this unit.

A strong point of this beginning is the representation of those debates and conflicts of interest that separated Federalists and Anti-Federalists, large- and small-state representatives, and Northerners and Southerners. Also explained are the classes of people who were excluded altogether from the political process because of age, sex, or race. Overall, this is an engaging introduction to the study of how we, the people, have evolved since 1787. It provides students a clear understanding of why laws are necessary.

Having successfully introduced students to the great "experiment" that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution represented for the early American colonists, the authors delve logically into the three branches of government, posing a series of problems around certain topics so that students can better weigh the strengths and weaknesses of our form of government. For example, these are some of the questions raised about Congress: (1) How secret should a lawmaker's finances be? (2) Do federal lawmakers use their time wisely?

After considering the structure and functions of the judicial branch, there follows a valuable unit, "Our Living Constitution," that devotes four chapters to analyzing how the Constitution has changed since it went into effect in 1789. The main intent of this unit is to show how the Constitution is still evolving today.

A unit on the growth of the national government logically follows the study of the three branches of government. It examines the huge and costly bureaucracy that has evolved over time and some of the problems posed by big government. While chapters about the structure and functions of state and local governments meet minimal standards of coverage, a critical chapter about special problems of large cities exposes students to some alarming issues that affect all citizens. To be more even-handed in its treatment of local problems, the text needs a corresponding study of issues confronting small rural communities.

Comparative economic systems, unfortunately, are oversimplified. Admittedly, economics is too broad a subject for a government textbook to detail, but the treatment given is nonetheless too superficial for high school students. Capitalism, socialism, and communism are discussed in lieu of more sophisticated equivalents -- free market, mixed, traditional, and command economies. However, the authors do note that we no longer have a laissez-faire economy, but rather have what economists refer to as a mixed economy. Considering that most states have mandated the infusion of economics into the social studies curriculum, this unit on comparative economic systems is insufficient, particularly for college-bound students.

A solid context is provided in the text's first unit, "Our Political Heritage." It is important for students to understand that American political ideas have a history that goes back long before the American Revolution. This unit instills an appreciation for the ancient ideas that we have borrowed and then transformed into our way of life. However, the introduction to Unit Five, "Our Living Constitution," does not provide a suitable context for the ideas and beliefs of the 1800s. Students only learn that individual rights have changed since 1800 due to the flexibility of the Constitution.

For the most part, the problems approach employed by the authors enables students to study the principles of government in a historical context and then to transfer these to contemporary situations. For example, the rights of women are traced back to English common law, and one gains an appreciation for the challenges that women have had to overcome in the process of acquiring equality before the law. Also, students learn how regulatory agencies are part of the broadening role of the federal government, a move away from the general rule of economic life during most of the nineteenth century -- "Let the buyer beware."

Engagement

American Government is easy to read, written at about a ninth- or tenth-grade reading level. The authors use a problem-solving approach as a means of inducing students to think more critically about the subject matter. For example, the chapter on how Congress works poses the question, "Should our law-making process be made less complicated?" The chapter on the presidency asks, "When should a president be declared disabled?" The chapter on historic Supreme Court decisions asks, "What would your decision be?" Different perspectives on these issues are offered. Overall, this problem-solving approach is a successful technique for engaging students intellectually. However, the book takes on safe problems, not the more controversial values and issues with which government must contend.

The authors skillfully employ real situations in the form of vignettes throughout the text. For example, one anecdote takes the reader through a typical day in the life of a U.S. Senator, and another traces the Emergency Energy Bill through the complicated law-making process. Also included is a personal interview with First Lady Nancy Reagan and a story about Thomas Jefferson. Ample political cartoons, graphs, tables, charts, and other illustrations support and enhance the material. *American Government*, however, is not colorfully illustrated. Most photographs are black and white, making for a rather drab appearance in comparison to other texts.

This book is weak in the area of civic involvement. The chapter that concerns voting, for example, does not emphasize individual participation and civic responsibility. It discuses voting in a detached manner, failing to make students aware of their own civic responsibilities. The text also lacks profiles or case studies of individuals who have made a difference in American political life. The material focuses on how Congress has passed laws to strengthen individual rights instead of singling out the individuals who made a difference -- like Rosa Parks, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., or "Jane Roe" of *Roe* v. *Wade*.

The end-of-chapter activities provide teachers with an adequate supply of class-based, small group, and individual assignments. Each unit includes a well-formulated activity for enhancing reading and writing skills.

Constitutional Themes

An elaboration of the meaning, interpretation, and application of the Constitution throughout American history is furnished in the unit "Our Living Constitution." Its chapters include (1) Our Bill of Rights, (2) Our Growing Constitution, (3) Rights and Legislation, and (4) Rights and Court Decisions. The latter is an engrossing, issue-oriented section that explains how courts have interpreted basic freedoms and how these liberties have changed over time. Decisions more relevant to the lives of students are reported, including those surrounding school prayer, federal aid to parochial schools, freedom of the press and school newspapers, and procedural due process in school suspensions.

Today it is unusual for a government textbook to hide the Constitution of the U.S. in small print in the back of the book, but such is the case with *American Government*. No explanatory remarks or enrichment activities accompany this presentation. Yet the Declaration of Independence is aptly presented in Chapter Three. The Constitution in its entirety also could have been integrated into Chapter Four, "Formation of Our Federal Government."

Relationships

Intergovernmental relations are satisfactorily presented. *American Government* devotes a unit to each branch of government, treating the structure and role of each, as well as the changes that have occurred over time. The dynamic relationships among these branches are noted through discussion of the president's discretion in carrying out the laws passed by Congress. Executive privilege is described in the context of President Nixon's claim to it during the Watergate affair, and there is a discussion of the Supreme Court's role as an independent judiciary.

Relationships between the government and other groups are poorly reflected, however. For example, coverage of the relationship between religious groups and government is inadequate. The Moral Majority is cited as an example of a pressure group, but a much-needed discussion of controversies involving religion and government is neglected. Failure to mention, much less explain, *Roe* v. *Wade*, is a weakness in this reviewer's opinion.

The text only offers two sentences on the relationship between church and state, including the following statement: "Religious groups sometimes try to nfluence public policy on civil rights, abortion, and foreign policy." Other pressure and interest groups, however, receive fair and even-handed treatment.

Another shortcoming of *American Government* is the limited attention devoted to other forms of government. Traditionally, social studies textbooks have focused on Western Europe. Government texts typically featured Great Britain and France and their contrasting constitutional democracies, along with a look at the Soviet Union. This textbook follows this tradition, failing to address developing countries and their relationship to the richer, industrial nations of the world. It ignores important global issues germane to Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Title: ***American Government: Principles and Practices***
Authors: Mary Jane Turner, Kenneth Switzer, and Charlotte Redden
Publisher: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company
Reviewer: Norman J. Ornstein

Overview

American Government:Principles and Practices has been carefully designed to cover the gamut of topics comprehensively and with some sensitivity to the needs of educators and of students. It is clear that the book's authors and publisher have worked hard to make the material relevant to students and to emphasize the citizenship role. It is also evident that the authors have tried mightily to follow the criteria set down by various educational authorities and states as to content, style, and themes.

However, this book has several significant weaknesses that limit my enthusiasm for it. While it is well-designed, attractive, and comprehensive, the book lacks color, vivid prose, or much that would grip or interest a high school student. Although it appears that *American Government* was designed to respond to the latest in pedagogical technique, reading it made my eyes glaze over. There is no evidence of ideological bias in this book, in fact almost to the point of blandness.

The text places an overemphasis on recitation of facts, at least implicitly moving the reader to try to memorize the facts, although many are irrelevant to anyone but the specialist, and although their memorization could come at the expense of understanding and grappling with larger concepts and problems. There are many important areas, especially surrounding the formation of the Constitution and the issues generated by the Constitutional Convention, that are barely raised; other areas of at best peripheral importance are dwelt upon at much greater length.

In their desire to avoid any taint of controversy or bias,the authors have homogenized the text, making it lifeless. Some of the most important areas of modern political life -- Watergate and the Imperial Presidency, abortion, busing, Nicaragua -- are ignored or glossed over.

Although there are some serious errors of fact, this book on the whole does an accurate and comprehensive job of reporting the significant areas of American government and politics. It is not, by and large, a sloppy book; it is not a malevolent or biased book. But it could be a better book.

Criteria

Coverage

The book covers the widest array of topics. While some important areas of American policy are not discussed at all -- for example, the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II -- that is a small criticism in a book that cannot deal in detail with everything. The breadth of discussion, however, is not matched by its depth. This book does not provoke students, engage them much in key controversies, or stretch their minds.

The discussion of federalism and state and local governments takes place largely in Chapter Four and in Unit Three. While the various chapters are chock-full of facts, there is almost no discussion of the major controversies surrounding federalism, especially the contemporary ones defined by the "new federalism" of President Nixon and the newer version of President Reagan. The question of how we sort out the responsibilities of federal, state, and local governments, especially in an era of tight budgets, is a critically important one that needs to be addressed squarely. It is not. As for the lengthy discussions of state and local sources of revenue and expenditures, any ideas are drowned out by the presentation of data, most of which is well beyond the need of any high school student. These chapters reflect the basic weakness of this book: there are too many facts, all appropriately underlined for memorization, but coming at the expense of discussion and analysis of the key controversies and issues that grip American political life.

Unit Four includes chapters on Congress; Unit Five on the executive branch; Unit Six on the bureaucracy, and Unit Seven on the judicial branch. The discussion on Congress includes some commendable organization, focusing on what Congress is, what it does, who it represents -- all important areas for a basic secondary school text. There is some attention paid to contemporary issues, such as whether congressional staffs have become too important. The legislative powers and the internal organization of Congress are discussed adequately. The biggest problem with the unit on Congress is that there is little attention paid to the dynamics of Congress, including its relationship to constituents, the president, or interest groups, the pace of activity in Congress, or the dynamics of lawmaking.

There are also some serious errors of fact -- for example, the assertion that by 1975 "majority parties in both houses agreed that chairpersons should be elected by committee members" (p. 396) when, in fact, they are elected by overall party caucuses. There is little sense of what Congress does, of the nature and impact of congressional elections. The major issue that has dominated Congress in the past several years -- budget deficits -- is barely mentioned. There is no mention of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget Act, for example. There is one brief mention of David Stockman, in the executive branch section, but nothing on the controversies that surrounded the presidential-congressional clash in priorities in the Reagan/Stockman years, which means that there is precious little on the key question of the contemporary role of the federal government in American society.

The same kind of static analysis exists in the unit on the presidency and the executive branch. The central question of the role and powers of the presidency -- the "Imperial Presidency" -- is barely addressed. There is only a passing reference to Watergate and absolutely no discussion of the broader issues that led to the crisis of the presidency in the Nixon years. The passing reference to Watergate does come, to be sure, in a section on the ebb and flow of presidential and congressional power, which, commendably, discusses the struggle between the president and Congress. But it is presented in a limited and sanitized fashion.

The section on the presidency does include the one major example of a bias in *American Government*, though not any liberal or conservative ideological slant. The authors clearly do not like the electoral college. Their discussion of the issue includes a full recitation of the facts -- how the college works, etc. -- and refers to criticisms of the electoral college and to proposals for reform. But there is no comparable discussion of the positive side, the strengths of the electoral college. Instead, there is a brief section on "obstacles to reform," including the belief that the system has worked reasonably well and "fear of what change would bring."

This section, too, has a glaring factual error: the book asserts (p. 459) that the Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is appointed by the president but the appointment does not require the consent of the Senate. This is wrong: the appointment does require Senate confirmation. This is no trivial error; the debate over whether to make the Director of OMB subject to Senate confirmation was a heated and important one, reflecting the tension over the growing power of a White House staff not subject to congressional control.

Unit Six, on the agencies, gives a brief review of the federal bureaucracy and examines the federal role in the economy, human resources, public services (like commerce, labor, transportation, and housing), natural resources and foreign affairs/defense. This section is competent, and covers all the Cabinet departments in a sensibly organized way. Once again, however, one yearns for any discussion with bite, one that would provoke students to think about the major dilemmas and controversies surrounding government and its role in our society.

In the chapter on government and the economy, a brief section on the deficits and the federal debt mentions -- at last -- Gramm/Rudman, though not by name and in one sentence. But this brief section, outside of a couple of nice color graphics tracing the deficit and the national debt, offers no provocative or interesting discussion of the deficit and debt problem -- how did we get into it, how can we get out of it, how serious is the problem, why, and why it is so dominant an issue in Washington decision-making. All we get is a short, lifeless analysis of the constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

An occasional case study -- the best feature in *American Government* to make students think -- does provide some grist; in one unit, for example, the authors raise the issue of a subminimum wage for teenagers. But these provocative case studies are few and far between Mostly, we get a dry recitation of all the agencies and what they do. One additional error: the authors refer to the "International Communications Agency" on p. 597, but this agency changed its name back to the United States Information Agency [USIA] several years ago.

Unit Seven is a competent discussion of the various federal courts, the court structure, and the significant facts about the Supreme Court, from the Court's jurisdiction, to its term, to the nature of the justices and the work of the Court. There is a substantial description of the *Marbury* v. *Madison* case and the concept of judicial review, plus a table of significant Supreme Court decisions. But there is little on the dynamics of the Court, its role in political controversies, the question of a liberal versus conservative or a strict constructionist court, or the Warren versus the Burger Court. The table of court decisions does not include *Roe* v. *Wade*, due to the book's obvious desire to avoid any hint of controversy.

Some of the problems mentioned above are addressed, if briefly, in the next unit, "The American System of Justice." There is a one-page case study on judicial restraint that does at least raise the questions of the political and policy roles of the Supreme Court. This unit also covers in some detail individual rights, including the rights of the accused, and key questions of civil liberties and civil rights. There is a good section on the civil rights movement and on affirmative action. Questions of school prayer, freedom of the press, and due process are covered rather comprehensively, but, once again, without a real or vivid sense of the areas of controversy and conflict. For example, there is a section on the exclusionary rule that outlines *Mapp* v. *Ohio*, *United States* v. *Leon*, *Nix* v.*Williams*, and other relevant cases. But there is absolutely no analysis of the controversies surrounding the exclusionary rule and the Fourth Amendment.

This entire unit is filled with references to Supreme Court cases; one wonders how any high school student will react to having dozens of cases named, one after the other. There is little of substance to be gained by the overuse of case references except to protect one's book against attacks for being overly controversial. In the meantime, some crucial issues -- abortion, busing, Baby Doe, etc. -- are either absent entirely or accorded small references in passing. To be fair, some controversial subjects are dealt with in more depth; prayer in the schools, as noted above, does get two pages of fair and unbiased treatment. But the basic weakness of the book is reflected in this unit as well: an over-reliance on a recitation of mounds of facts at the expense of any analysis or serious attempt to raise the issues of conflict and controversy that grip the American political system.

The same problem exists in the final unit of the book, "The United States and the International System." There is no reference to aid to Nicaraguan "contras" or to United States policy in Central America -- except in a section on "Continuing Arms Race." There is one very brief reference to apartheid. There is no mention of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Those issues that are of most interest to foreign policy decision-makers, with the exception of U.S.-Soviet relations and, to a degree, trade and protectionism, are avoided or downplayed.

Engagement

In almost every respect, this book is excellent in its structure, layout, and style. The print, type face, graphics, use of color, and subheadings are all well designed to make the book readable and attractive. The use, at the end of each section, of a section review that raises three to five key questions is very good. The reviews that conclude each chapter with a summary, review of the main ideas, discussion of key points and suggestions for applying them, along with sections on "building a government vocabulary" and "developing critical thinking skills," are all state-of-the-art. The text does refer students frequently to previous discussions, uses the interrogative technique well (frequently posing the right questions), and includes the appropriate documents in the Appendix.

My largest single problem with the structure of the book is that the detailed discussion of the Bill of Rights and the important areas and controversies surrounding individual rights -- issues clearly at the heart of any analysis of American government -- come near the end of the book These in-depth sections clearly belong near the beginning, and the book suffers as a result.

Unit Two of *American Government*, "Political Life," covers citizenship, political behavior, political parties, interest groups, and the electoral process, respectively, in its five chapters. This is probably the best unit in the book. It raises some important issues of citizenship (such as immigration), describes cogently the uses and impact of public opinion polls, and discusses nicely the role of political parties and voters in the political system. There is a good case study on the pros and cons of interest group influence on American politics. There is also a good discussion of political campaigning, including the use and impact of volunteers. The end-of-chapter review includes an excellent section on building citizenship competency. The overall discussion of interest groups, however, is a little weak; it barely mentions *Federalist Papers 10* and the tension between the "mischiefs of factions" and the right to petition and does not tackle at all the contemporary scandals of lobbying or the controversies over lobby regulation.

Constitutional Themes

The coverage of the Constitution, including the Founding Fathers, the Constitutional Convention, the ratification, and the early experiences under the Constitution, is not exemplary. While a good deal of ink is devoted to these broad subjects, the content is weak. There is far more attention paid to the three types of colonies under the British than to the ideas, from Locke to Montesquieu, that formed the basis of our Constitution. The discussion of the Convention includes inadequate analysis of the length of presidential terms and does not even attempt to relate presidential to congressional terms. The various plans put forth at the Convention are dutifully described, but no attention is given to the dynamics of the Convention that led to the final compromise, or to the tensions present at the Convention. The key issues raised in the *Federalist Papers 10* or *51* -- why a diffusion of power and a separation of powers; how to balance the system to counter the "mischief of factions" -- are not dealt with in the section on the Constitution, nor is there any discussion of the varying interpretations of the Convention actions, either the Beard or the Roche interpretations, for example. The only real sense of the controversies involved is a brief section on the Anti-Federalists, which really does not do the job.

The discussion in Chapter Three, "The Constitution and the People," does little more than briefly describe the basic provisions and principles of the Constitution. Providing an overview of the organization and basic principles in the Constitution is commendable, but this chapter has real inadequacies. There are some statements that are simplistic and potentially misleading -- for example, the statement "Articles I, II and III outline exactly what the national government can do" attributes a degree of precision that is not found in the Constitution.

The discussion in this chapter of constitutional amendments provides the only detailed discussion early in the book on the Bill of Rights, and almost no attention is paid to the key question: Why a bill of rights? The amendments are described adequately, although with some limitations; the discussion of the Twenty-Second Amendment, for example, says that, following Franklin Roosevelt's death, "so many people believed in the soundness of the two-term tradition that the Twenty-Second Amendment was added to the Constitution." That is, to say the least, a bowdlerized analysis of the genesis of this amendment. Moreover, the natural question of whether it is entirely positive -- given that the Twenty-Second Amendment now limits Ronald Reagan and turns him into a lame duck president in his second term -- is completely ignored. The most positive section in the whole discussion of the Constitution is a one-page case study on the issue of a new constitutional convention.

Relationships

Sections on the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce touch on the relationship between government and labor and government and business, but in a largely descriptive way. The broader questions of the relative roles of the public and private sectors in American society are hardly mentioned, and the difficult issues involved in sorting out the appropriate roles are not discussed. Terms and concepts that refer to the interrelationships between private interests and government decision-making bodies -- such as "military-industrial complex," "iron triangles," or "sub-governments" -- are not in this book. There is a chapter on interest groups, and public opinion as a link to representative government is outlined. There is also mention of regulatory bodies. Overall, however, there is little feel for the tension between the public and private interest worlds.

Title: ***Government in the United States***
Authors: Richard C. Remy, Larry Elowitz, and William Berlin
Publisher: Scribner Educational Publishers
Reviewer: James D. Carroll

Overview

Government in the United States is an ambitious undertaking. A remarkable amount of work has gone into it, and the result should be useful to secondary school teachers and students. In some ways, the book is almost a reference tool. The manuscript aspires to be a thorough description of American government -- its history, structure, and functions -- and to some extent it succeeds.

The book, however, is essentially an exercise in encyclopedic exposition rather than an invitation to the exercise of informed judgment in the context of basic constitutional values and policy choices. With minor exceptions, it is not distorted or biased, except in the sense that distortion and bias result from treating all subjects as if they are of equal value and significance.

The text, lacking a strong thesis, does not fully capture the intense, pluralistic competition of people, processes, institutions, and values that characterizes the American system of politics and government. Presupposing a relatively passive student who will master a vast amount of factual material, the book's authors do not adequately challenge the student to work through the difficult and often painful processes of choice among competing values that are the *sine qua non* of American politics and government.

Throughout most of the material, a sense of the passion, drama, and significance of resolving conflicts among fundamental values is missing. The approach is one of detached disembodiment, as if the lives, beliefs, and fortunes of real people were not at stake.

Criteria

Coverage

Government in the United States attempts to produce an almost encyclopedic review of American government, including comparative materials on the governments of Great Britain, France, Japan, and the Soviet Union. The book also includes material on comparative economic systems.

The text is organized into ten units, each of which includes several chapters. Each chapter is supported by a separate section of primary and secondary materials and contains a "Review and Activities" section. Some chapters include "Government Study Skills" sections, e.g., Chapter Thirteen contains a guide to "Reading Political Maps." Some also include "Highlights," or brief case studies. All units contain extensive graphs, charts, and illustrations. In addition, the *Teacher's Manual* is detailed and extensive.

The strengths of this book lie in its comprehensiveness and currency. It begins with a discussion of the state as the basic political unit in the world today and an analysis of the purposes of governments and their various forms. The text then proceeds to a thorough description of the structure and functions of the federal, state, and local governments and includes separate units on influencing government and citizenship and civil liberties. Extensive data are used throughout, and behavioral as well as structural dimensions of subjects are often covered, e.g., discussion of how the White House staff works with the president.

The weaknesses of the book derive in part from its encyclopedic approach and in part from the failure of the authors to capture the profound and often conflicting commitments to competing values, such as liberty and equality, and to particular policy choices that often are the blood and guts of politics and government. To paraphrase Oscar Wilde, it is as if the authors knew the price of everything and the value of nothing.

The text sometimes fails to explain subjects adequately. Consider two examples: uncontrollable expenditures and deficits, and the number of public employees. "Uncontrollable expenditures" are an important element in the federal budget. Why some expenditures are "uncontrollable," what "uncontrollable" means, and the implications of "uncontrollability" are important, complicated subjects. The text discusses these subjects in less than a paragraph and simply does not explain them well. The skimpy discussion of the federal deficit is particularly startling. It reveals a blindness to the magnitude of policy reorientation and choice that the federal government has faced for several years and continues to face.

The treatment of the number of federal employees is equally unsatisfactory. The text sets forth a chart labeled "Number of Government Employees," followed by an "Enrichment" insert asking the students to discuss some of the trends in public policy reflected in the chart. The text does not provide any discussion or data to suggest what the chart might indicate. The text does not point out, for example, that the number of federal employees has not increased substantially in the last twenty years, despite the common perception of a burgeoning federal bureaucracy.

Engagement

A major weakness of this book is that it does not confront controversy or adequately challenge the student to engage in the process of choice that gives politics and government vitality. The treatment of *Roe* v. *Wade* is indicative. The student is not invited to consider the subject of abortion, as it is not even raised, nor the problems this subject poses for a democratic government. This treatment exemplifies a more general failure to involve the student in the process of thinking through and evaluating the difficult choices that confront Americans and their government.

There is, however, an even more fundamental weakness in the book: its inability to encourage students to become active citizens. The second-to-last two units of the text are entitled "Influencing Government" and "Citizenship and Civil Liberties." While these units seem to express the author's belief that these subjects are important, they are not integrated into the text as a whole.

These chapters, probably the most important in the book, address the relationship between democratic, constitutional values and how government works. They discuss political parties, elections, interest groups, public opinion, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Unfortunately, their placement toward the end of the book indicates that these concerns need not be raised throughout the course but can be considered after studying the vast amount of material on government that precedes them. To me, the result is a distortion of perspective and values.

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and American traditions establish that law and governments exist to respond to and express the will of the people, as well as to protect and promote fundamental freedoms. How this is done and how well it is done should be a central theme of the text and courses based upon it. The focus throughout should be the reconciliation of competing and often inconsistent values and objectives. But by putting citizenship and civil liberties at the end, the fundamental point that a democratic government should be an expression of the will of the people is lost. Moreover, its placement means that within the main body of the text there is no attempt to measure such subjects as foreign policy and national defense or the exercise of presidential leadership against democratic processes and basic freedoms. Nor does it invite the student to do so. These last two chapters are too little, too late.

Constitutional Themes

Treatment of the Constitution is fairly thorough, but somewhat puzzling. Unit One describes in detail the English political heritage, the Articles of Confederation, and the key decisions and compromises of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. It then reviews the principles expressed in the Constitution: popular sovereignty, federalism, separation of powers, checks and balances, judicial review, and limited government. Amendments to the Constitution and informal changes are also analyzed. Following a discussion of federalism, the text proceeds to a new unit entitled "National Government." (The authors seem uncomfortable with the phrase "the federal government".)

Unfortunately, the significance of conflicting interpretations of the Constitution throughout American history is not systemically discussed, although Unit Four, "National Government: The Judicial Branch," does partially address the subject. In addition, the section on source materials at the end of the book includes a long document entitled "Handbook of the Constitution," which more extensively analyzes the role of constitutional interpretation in our nation's development.

I found it difficult, however, to relate the material discussed in the "Handbook" to material in the text, and to determine how the two are intended to complement each other. For example, how is the discussion of the First Amendment in Chapter Twenty-Six supposed to relate to the material in the "Handbook"? Since part of the material on the Constitution is placed in the "Handbook", it was not clear whether major controversies are treated thoroughly and fairly. My impression is that several major issues, such as the Fourteenth Amendment and the doctrine of incorporation, are treated in an adequate -- but not illuminating -- way. The discussion of the incorporation doctrine, for example, is at best bloodless and bland. Public school students would never know that what is at issue, *inter alia*, is the right of school officials to search their lockers.

Government in the United States is an ambitious, valuable book. Despite the limitations noted above, it is a major contribution to the resources available for teaching government at the high school level.

Relationships

Units Two through Seven describe the major institutions of government -- federal, state, and local -- extensively and for the most part reliably. They constitute the bulk of the book, and are a valuable source of information. Some attempt is made to explain how government institutions work, e.g., the discussion of the iron triangle, although too few case studies give flesh and blood to the descriptions and data.

The coverage of state and local governments is particularly thorough. Chapter Twenty, "Governing Metropolitan Areas, Cities, Suburbs, and Towns," is current and valuable. It shows some of the limitations of historical, formal structures of government.

The text concludes with a unit on comparative government and economic systems. This unit is useful, although the relationships between economic systems and political values are not extensively analyzed.

There are some odd omissions, which stand out precisely because of the comprehensiveness to which the text aspires. For example, the discussion of Congressional support agencies omits the Office of Technology Assessment (pp. 132-133). This omission is significant in itself but is also indicative of a tendency in the book to underemphasize the impact of scientific and technological developments upon the organizations, people, and functions of government, e.g., civilian and military nuclear power, telecommunications, cancer research, space, AIDS research, and the Strategic Defense Initiative. For example, the index does not list the National Institutes of Health, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, or the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, nor does the text discuss them.

These and related omissions are significant. Developments in computers and information, telecommunications, space science, nuclear energy, and biomedical and health sciences and technologies are major factors that have affected and are affecting the roles and responsibilities of American government, as well as the professional and technical qualifications for public service. The discussion of "The Federal Bureaucracy" in Chapter Ten, for example, is flawed by the failure to recognize and discuss these issues.

Title:	***Consent of the Governed***
Author:	Marcel Lewinski et al.
Publisher:	Scott, Foresman and Company
Reviewer	Judith Stiehm

Overview

The title of this text, with its emphasis on the governed, is indicative of the approach the authors pursue with considerable success. The rights and responsibilities of citizenship and participation in political and governmental processes are stressed throughout the book, highlighted by inclusion of documents in the body of the text and sections entitled "You Decide." The overall effect is to bring the factual material to life by challenging the student to use the material to think through and analyze problems.

Despite significant limitations, this book goes a long way toward integrating facts, challenging students to become involved in the subject, and providing information on how to become an active citizen. By these criteria, it is a very successful book.

Criteria

Coverage

The text covers the essential elements of government in some depth: the historical foundations; the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; participating in government; the legislative, executive, and judicial branches; the formulation and administration of economic and social policy; state and local governments; and international relations. It is somewhat weak on the relationship of science and technology to government, but overall the coverage is excellent. The information is current and accurate; and, given the breadth of coverage, the text avoids excessive simplification or over-generalizations except, inevitably, in the short chapter on foreign policy.

The full text of the Declaration of Independence (with the names of the signers) and the Constitution (annotated) are both integrated into the text instead of consigned to an appendix, increasing the likelihood that they will be read.

The weaknesses and failures of the United States system of government, as well as its strengths, are a part of the story. For example, one of the case studies is the relocation of Japanese-Americans during World War II, and there are pictures of unemployment lines and a toxic waste site. The controversial subjects of busing for purposes of racial integration and of abortion are, however, avoided.

In its study of polls, the text offers a piece of data that showed that fifty-seven percent of students rated their schools as "B" -- "good." Forty-seven percent of them said "more money could be spent best in my school by buying better textbooks and instructional materials." Probably this text would be in the "better" category. My own preference would be for a little less scope and more depth -- in particular, some sections that require sustained reading. It might also have given somewhat more emphasis to one old-fashioned American value -- suspicion of government -- even of that government to which one consents.

Engagement

The book's format resembles that of *USA Today*. Each page has only two columns of text, and colored photos are used generously. Quotable quotes enliven the margins, and graphs help give emphasis to main concepts and present data in an effective way. Cartoons, historical photographs, and reproductions of paintings also attract attention. The writing style is often brisk and lively, e.g., "The public's view of the presidency is based on illusion" (p. 352). Subheadings are used extensively to signify key concepts and transitions in thought.

Men and women of every ethnicity appear in the photographs. The non-privileged are given prominent attention. Photographs and illustrations are skillfully integrated into the text, often through the use of side bars with explanatory comments and observations.

Care is given to the teaching of critical thinking skills, making it more likely that students' decisions will be "good" ones, that is, based on the collection and weighing of evidence, and on an analysis that distinguishes between cause and effect and fact and opinion. Students are asked to decide, for example: "Should the United States Further Restrict Immigration?" and "Should the Draft be Reinstated?"

This text provides a great deal of information and sets forth the best in democratic values. Critical thinking is clearly a goal, and it is good to see that discussion is not cast in the artificially polarized framework of a debate. More often the framework is one of responding to questions. Learning is assisted by previews, reviews, and lists of terms and main ideas for each chapter.

It is especially pleasing to find the units on citizen rights and responsibilities and on citizen participation preceding the units on the branches and levels of government. The discussion of parties, interest groups, voting behavior, and public opinion polls helps students understand how political behavior (including their own) is shaped and the degree to which it is predictable. A "Handbook" is provided explaining how to register to vote, how to file an income tax return, how to register for the draft (men only), how to find government employment, etc.

The *Teacher's Edition* includes background, goals, tips, and tests, as well as suggestions for readings, films, simulations, and software.

Unfortunately, the learning aids sometimes overwhelm the reader. The sections of text are so short and so frequently interrupted with visuals that one is led to the conclusion that as far as the authors of *Consent of the Governed* are concerned, students have a very brief attention span.

Constitutional Themes

The text emphasizes the importance of individual rights and the need to respect the rights of others. It also stresses the importance of acting for the good of the community through both public and private institutions. The text raises and discusses controversial constitutional issues and discusses them in a fair way, e.g., the discussion in Unit Two, "Is Christmas a National or Religious Holiday?" This is accomplished, in part, through a skillful use of case studies, e.g., the case study of Watergate in Chapter Fourteen.

First Amendment protections and freedoms occupy a full chapter, and dissent and tolerance are treated as legitimate and necessary. Still, I believe this is an area that should have been more fully developed.

The "establishment" and "free exercise" clauses of the First Amendment are accurately described, and the 1985 "moment of silence" case is noted, but the three pages devoted to this subject contain little actual text. Discussion of freedom of the press includes the *Pentagon Papers* case and court rulings on obscenity. The Skokie Nazis are the case study in Chapter Four. Large colored photos of General William Westmoreland and Ariel Sharon are featured in the discussion of libel -- but neither the content nor outcome of their cases is given. The effect, I think, is seriously dampening.

Some important areas of constitutional rights are not covered. The right of citizens to know, freedom of information laws, and contemporary issues involving the media are virtually ignored, for example. So are issues involving the classification of information and the intelligence community.

The desegregation decisions are discussed, as is reverse discrimination. However, as noted above, nothing is said about busing or about *Roe* v. *Wade*. While Watergate is discussed, the Roosevelt court-packing episode is not. Overall, the coverage is, perhaps inevitably, more illustrative than comprehensive.

Relationships

This text does a good job of relating history to news; of relating citizens and their acts to government; and of relating the branches and levels of government to each other. It also provides a series of "Between the Lines" explanations which set a context for incidents or topics suggested for classroom discussion.

The excellent graphics are especially effective in demonstrating relationships, e.g., the graphic showing "How a Bill Becomes a Law" and "The Ladder of Political Participation."

Although the book does make an effort to set the United States in a world context (Unit Nine), and does attempt to explain the economic system and its relationship to the government and its policies (Unit Seven), I suspect neither students nor teachers will find these compelling sections.

Title:	***Lessons on the Constitution: Supplements to High School Courses in American History, Government, and Civics***
Authors:	John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy
Publisher:	The Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., and Project '87, a joint effort of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association
Reviewer:	James D. Carroll

Overview

Lessons on the Constitution is a set of supplementary instructional materials designed to augment instruction on the United States Constitution -- particularly its history and theory -- in secondary school courses on civics, American history, and American government. *Lessons* grew out of a conference on teaching about the Constitution held in 1980, at which coverage of the Constitution was assessed in current secondary school textbooks and instructional programs. The conference called for development and dissemination of a teacher's sourcebook on teaching about the Constitution, and *Lessons* is the result.

Each of the subjects covered in the major chapters is valuable. To some extent, each chapter is like a substantial outline, with exercises and references. In general, the individual lessons treat each subject in somewhat greater depth than one would expect to find in a secondary school text.

Lessons is a valuable supplement and should make a substantial contribution to teaching about the Constitution in American secondary schools. It is well organized, well researched, and well written. Its primary limitation derives from the fact that it is a supplement. Thus, its value will vary in relation to how well the subjects addressed in *Lessons* are covered in the primary text used in the course.

Criteria

Coverage

Lessons is not only a teacher's sourcebook but also a set of materials and exercises to be used by students in mastering the subject of each lesson. Each lesson consists of a lesson plan and notes for teachers, a text of several pages on the subject (often including quotations from pertinent documents), exercises, and bibliographical references.

The lessons -- forty in all -- are organized under three headings: Origins and Purposes of the Constitution; Principles of Government in the Constitution; and Amending and Interpreting the Constitution.

The book also contains the text of the Constitution and Amendments, excerpts from the *Federalist Papers*, and a summary of twenty landmark Supreme Court decisions.

The individual lessons are the heart of the text. For example, Lesson II-1 is entitled "What Is a Constitution?" About three pages of text explain the concepts of "supreme law," "a framework for government," and "constitutional government." The text then calls on the student to apply the text material to information set forth in a set of exercises. The lessons follow the teaching strategy of definition, example, and application.

The subjects covered in the first chapter, "Origins and Purposes of the Constitution," are primarily historical, e.g., state constitutions, 1776-1780; the Articles of Confederation; decisions made at the Constitutional Convention; and decisions about the Bill of Rights.

The second chapter, "Principles of Government in the Constitution," covers the fundamental beliefs the authors regard as essential to constitutional government in the United States -- federalism, separation of powers, checks and balances, judicial review, and civil liberties and civil rights.

The third chapter, "Amending and Interpreting the Constitution," reviews the amending process and covers several major developments and events that have significantly affected interpretation of the Constitution, e.g., Lincoln's decision about secession and the use of poll taxes.

Lessons presents a fairly well-balanced coverage of the major issues involved in the origins of the Constitution and the principles of constitutional government in the United States. The materials on "Amending and Interpreting the Constitution" pose several questions of subject matter coverage, because the authors are, in effect, attempting to review almost two hundred years of constitutional development in some seventy to eighty pages. This is an impossible task, requiring great selectivity. In general, the authors seem to underemphasize the period 1870-1940, including the expansion of both national and international powers of the federal government. However, the subject is so vast that any selection is open to charges of distortion.

Title: ***Great Trials in American History: Civil War to the Present***
Authors: Lee Arbetman and Richard L. Roe
Publisher: West Publishing Company
Reviewer: James D. Carroll

Overview

This book, designed as a supplementary text in United States history, government, and civics courses, is adapted from a four-volume work by Andrew David, published by Lerner Publications in 1979 and 1980. There is an extensive teacher's guide composed of entirely new material.

The text consists of fifteen chapters, each of which explains the origins, circumstances, issues, and resolution of a major trial. The legal issues raised by the trials were ultimately decided by the Supreme Court, except in a few instances.

According to the Introduction, the purpose of the book is to help the student learn about the role law has played in the life of the nation. Each case description is designed to teach the student both about the content of the law involved and about the way the American legal system works. The case descriptions are used to explain different types of legal proceedings, the differences between criminal and civil trials, and the role of the courts under the Constitution. Emphasis is placed on such concepts as liberty, equality, justice, and federalism. The case descriptions are well written -- although, somewhat oddly, they do not quote from the court opinions, except in a few instances.

Criteria

Coverage

Each of the trials described is of historical significance and inherently interesting. The descriptions achieve the objectives of conveying information about the historical period in which the trials occurred and an understanding of legal values and processes involved.

The selection of trials could be criticized in terms of their importance and their effects upon American society and the development of the constitutional system. Historians and constitutional scholars almost certainly would disagree on the answer to this question. In my view, the omission of *Roe* v. *Wade* and *United States* v. *Nixon* is a serious one. Overall, however, the trials selected are significant and worthy of study.

Engagement

Great Trials in American History should give life and meaning to such abstractions as "liberty" and "justice." The case descriptions invite the student to think through the conflicts in values and competing interests among institutions and groups that often characterize American public life.

The writing style is non-technical and very well suited to high school students. This book should be a valuable supplement to a United States government text, particularly in teaching about law and the Constitution.

Trials Described

1. "Major General" Lambdin P. Milligan - 1866
2. Cadet Johnson Whittaker - 1880
3. John T. Scopes - 1923
4. General Billy Mitchell - 1925
5. The Scottsboro Nine - 1933
6. Fred Korematsu - 1944
7. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg - 1951
8. Linda Brown - 1954
9. Dollree Mapp - 1961
10. Clarence Earl Gideon - 1963
11. Danny Escobedo and Ernesto Miranda - 1964 and 1966
12. Gerald Gault - 1967
13. The Chicago Eight - 1968
14. Lieutenant William L. Calley - 1970
15. Allan Bakke - 1978

Title:	***Civics: Government and Citizenship***
Author:	Jack R. Fraenkel et al.
Publisher:	Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
Reviewer:	Judith Stiehm

Overview

Civics: Government and Citizenship is organized into six units: the nature of government, the national government, state and local governments, influencing government, government and the economy, and government and world affairs. It includes an extensive glossary, the texts of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and a small selection of other documents. It is essentially an elementary, factual review of the history and structure of governments in the United States, supplemented by sections on skills development, e.g., problem clarification.

Its strengths lie in its well-organized summary of basic information about government. It does not, however, explore issues or challenge students to learn how to participate effectively in civic life. It rigorously avoids conflict and controversy and is bland as a result.

Criteria

Coverage

The material covering the history, structure, and functions of the government is conventional in the extreme and reflects a white-hat/black-hat view of the world. For example, in Chapter One, governments are described as either dictatorships or democracies. The examples given of the former are the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and Cuba. The only example given of the latter is the United States of America.

The latest research is not incorporated, nor are the latest facts. The discussion of organized labor ends with the Taft-Hartley Act, and from the text one gets the impression the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) may be a part of the Constitution, although on the second to last page of the text (where the annotated Constitution is presented) there is a note saying the ERA was not ratified.

Again, the basic formal institutions and concepts are well described, but there is little to suggest the evolution of our government over time. There is no discussion of the fact that our Constitution's commitment to the status quo made it impossible to abolish slavery without a civil war or to formally acknowledge women's rights even though seventy percent of the states supported the Equal Rights Amendment. More generally, this text does not analyze government in the context of community organizations and the many forms of civic life, e.g., voluntary and religious organizations. It pursues a narrow definition of "civics" and of "civic responsibility." The result is a limited portrayal of the social context in which government functions.

Because of the idealistic and institutional version of government presented here, neither the weaknesses of our government nor its recuperative powers are addressed. Since the book does not acknowledge past racial injustice, there appears to be no need to mention either the civil rights movement or Martin Luther King, Jr. -- and they are, in fact, not mentioned. (Judge and former NAACP lawyer Constance Baker Motley, however, does get two photographs.) The text does not raise the issue of abuse of executive power. Thus, there is no need to even mention Watergate or provide any explanation for President Richard Nixon's resignation.

Engagement

While the text is sprinkled with color photographs, they are often too small to engage one's attention, and the text is so bland, so abstract, and so focused on institutional structures and the meaning of concepts that it is hard to imagine any but the most diligent student reading the text with any care or interest. The unit on national government begins with a chapter on public policy -- presumably to engage the student. But what is the first example of public policy discussed? Social insurance -- specifically, "The Old Age and Survivors Disability Insurance Plan"!

The learning checks, summaries, and chapter checkups cover data, but again, the tone is deadly dull. Indeed, the skills pages are colored beige.

There are visuals, which are principally accounts of structure, e.g., "Presidential Succession" through the fifteen people following the Vice President; "The Executive Cabinet" with departmental seals and dates of founding; and "Commission and City Manager Forms of City Government." Students are told to distinguish fact from opinion and are given examples of individual efforts to influence government, but it is not at all clear that students would see any reason for trying to do either. Again, if there are no injustices to right and no villains to defeat, it is hard to get excited. Moreover, the book's credibility is diminished to the extent that it portrays all citizens as equally able to influence government; even eighth-graders know "it ain't so."

Constitutional Themes

Because this text is so determinedly noncontroversial, it fails miserably in addressing constitutional principles involving the Bill of Rights. Junior high students know about abortion, busing, and school prayer, but not a word about them appears in this text. This is very unfortunate. The importance of teaching students of this age about the rights and the value of people who are different cannot be overemphasized. Junior high school is often the first time students must learn to cope with peers who are not from the neighborhood. Further, because teachers necessarily experience some community pressure to conform, it is especially important that they be provided with authoritative texts that do not avoid controversy, so that the responsibility for bringing potentially tension-generating discussion into the classroom not be theirs alone. In general there appears to be a tendency to think students should be molded rather than taught to be critical at the junior high level; by the time students are in senior high school there is often more tolerance for "academic" discussion and more of a sense that exposure to conflicting ideas, values, interests and realities is useful. This reviewer, an ex-junior high school teacher, believes that what adults commonly think is learned in senior high actually begins in junior high -- including the capacity to think critically.

Relationships

This is the weakest element of the book. There is a serious problem of linkage -- or, rather, lack of it --between governmental structures, politics, newspaper stories, history and "life."

At the end of each chapter there is a feature, but its link to the chapter is often tenuous. For example, in Chapter One, the feature is on Shay's Rebellion, which is described rather sympathetically. However, there is no indication of the impact the rebellion had on saving farmers from their creditors. Moreover, earlier in the text it is suggested that this incident was important because it stimulated interest in revising the Articles of Confederation -- presumably to better suppress protest. What is the student supposed to conclude? That government must be given all the power it needs to control protest, or that good citizens protest injustice, or something else altogether? Similarly, the chapters on governors has a feature on "Women in Public Office." It is interesting and accurate but unconnected to the text.

There is also a problem of emphasis and sequence. For instance, the Bakke case is the feature in Chapter Two on citizen rights and responsibilities. Students are asked to judge the policy of affirmative action with virtually no information about why such a remedy was constructed in the first place. The only discussion that could explain the need for such a remedy comes in a later chapter on public policy-making which has as its feature *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and which concludes that "progress has been made in bringing all children together in the same schools."

Then there are the floaters: A picture of Elizabeth Cady Stanton appears with the note that she helped women "gain their rights to ownership of their own property." The text, though, never notes that women ever lacked property rights. In the discussion on personal income, the data offered is for 1984 and shows changes from the previous year (all positive except for farmers). Nothing is said about income differences by gender, ethnicity, education level, or marital status. Differences in personal wealth are not noted, nor is the adequacy of incomes. Instead, the eighth-grader is given definitions of economic indicators, gross national product, recession and business cycles.

Title: ***American Civics***
Authors: William H. Hartley and William S. Vincent
Publisher: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
Reviewer: Thomas E. Mann

Overview

The purpose of this book is clearly to prepare and to persuade students to become informed, active citizens in their families, schools, and communities and in their local, state, and national governments. To accomplish this end, the authors present basic information on a wide range of topics, develop civics skills such as registering to vote and writing a check, and exhort students to become responsible and effective citizens.

These tasks are performed reasonably well. Much of the overwhelming detail that appears in American government texts is absent here. The information is properly selective, rendering the text less dense and more interesting. Moreover, the authors stress the practical aspects of citizenship, including the normal, daily concerns of students. Case studies of "citizenship in action" (e.g., Frank Wills, the guard at the Watergate Hotel and the Oregon students' campaign to save covered bridges) effectively convey how individuals can make a difference.

Criteria

Coverage

The basic aspects of American government are covered in the text, albeit in brief and elementary presentations. The reference materials included in the text (the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, speeches, maps, etc.) are excellent. The level of the presentation does not permit an authoritative rendering of recent research, but, given the goals of the text, this does not pose a serious problem.

The authors do a good job of providing context for their observations. Demographic and social changes are given extended treatment, and an effort is made to provide historical perspective in many of the chapters. The notable exception is the absence of any treatment of religion, which is mentioned only as a freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment. Students are given no sense of the role religion played in American political history and in contemporary politics.

At times, however, the discussion of the political process seems inadequate even for a junior high student. The treatments of political parties, the presidential nominating process, elections, and campaign finances give unrealistic pictures of how our politics are conducted. For example, the section on "favorite sons and daughters" is an anachronism. The strengths of our form of government overwhelm the weaknesses in the text, although sections on Watergate and civil rights are used to illustrate the challenges to and shortcomings of our constitutional system. Overall, the tone seems about right for a civics text.

Engagement

The book excels in its encouragement of individual participation and civic responsibility, offering numerous examples of individual efforts that exemplify the role of the citizen. The text is well-written and attractively designed and illustrated. Students are engaged in two primary ways: an emphasis on their immediate, practical concerns (careers, schools, families, personal finances, drugs, and recreational facilities) and on repeated application of intellectual and participatory skills.

Constitutional Themes

The text is clearly oversold as a Constitutional Edition. A brief preface has been added to the standard two and one-half chapters on the Constitutional convention, values and structure of the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. What is there is adequate, but the authors have done little to take advantage of the Constitutional Bicentennial. It would have been appropriate to double the material on the Constitution in this edition, adding lessons, historical vignettes, contemporary cases, and debates about changing the Constitution.

Relationships

The relationships among the three branches of the federal government are handled in an overly formal manner: Congress makes the laws, the president carries them out, the Supreme Court judges their constitutionality. Little sense of separate institutions sharing and competing for power is conveyed to the students. The only portrayal of the dynamic relationships among the branches occurs in abbreviated fashion in the policy chapters on the economy, foreign policy, and the environment. Much more could be done here. The same point holds for the relationship between the government and public opinion and interest groups. The topic is only mentioned in passing, and students are given little opportunity to discover when and how public demands lead to government action.

The text is much better at dealing with immediate concerns of students -- credit, savings and investment, insurance, and taxes -- and showing how these are shaped by government policy. The focus is on basic competencies of citizens rather than on a sophisticated understanding of the American political system.

The book contains no serious exposition of comparative goverment. Less than one page is devoted to different types of governments, and other countries are treated only very briefly in a chapter on U.S. foreign policy.

Title:	***Civics: Citizens and Society***
Authors:	Allan O. Kownslar and Terry L. Smart
Publisher:	McGraw-Hill Book Company
Reviewer:	Norman J. Ornstein

Overview

Civics: Citizens and Society is a very attractive book which draws a reader to it with graphics, boxes, cartoons, examples, and general presentation. Given the large number of texts that cry out "Boring!", this is no small accomplishment. In addition, the authors focus their book around the theme of citizens in society, using examples and discussing issues in ways that will touch the readers and make them identify with the problems. (They use a basketball game without referees or rules, for example, to show the effects of anarchy.) I could easily imagine students reading this book without major complaints and teachers finding the examples and excerpts from articles and editorials that show opposing points of view useful vehicles for generating classroom debate and discussion.

With some notable exceptions, the book covers the important topics comprehensively and provides some good historical perspective. There is a discussion of law going back to early times, and the theme is carried through the colonial period, the origins and development of the Constitution, and the contemporary period. Government institutions are covered adequately, as are public opinion, voting, and interest groups. There is a discussion of state and local government, contrasted with the federal government, and a good look at criminal and civil law. There are chapters on the American economic system and the government's role in the economy. There is no discussion, however, of foreign policy.

I will comment below on some specific parts of *Civics: Citizens and Society*. My general criticisms are two-fold and common, it appears, to books in this genre. First, the discussion of the Bill of Rights and, more broadly, of individual rights and government responsibilities are misplaced, flowing not from the discussion at the beginning of the book on citizen and society, and not from the explanation of the Constitution, but cropping up in the middle of the book after units on Congress, the executive branch, the judiciary, and state and local government. Moreover, the discussion of criminal law, which would logically follow the section on rights and responsibilities, instead follows the section on the process of politics -- voting, parties, public opinion, and pressure groups.

Secondly and most importantly, this book homogenizes and dilutes major areas of controversy in contemporary American politics, even when it does not entirely ignore them. The civil rights struggle is mentioned only in passing; the death penalty rates two sentences; school prayer is barely touched; abortion is not even mentioned; and Watergate and impeachment are handled in brief descriptions. However, the discussion of the Vietnam War protests and the courts' role in settling delicate issues that arose from student demonstrations is well done, and some key issues do get mentioned, including a good but brief discussion of freedom of religion. Overall, there is too much effort to avoid controversy and controversial issues in the book.

Criteria

Coverage

For a civics text, the treatments of Congress, the executive branch, and the courts are adequate, with good basic descriptions of constitutional powers and political roles. There are some good historical examples (the tariff issue in Andrew Jackson's presidency, Sam Rayburn on Congress and the president) and a good treatment of how a bill becomes a law, using examples many kids can understand. There is, however, far more basic description than analysis, and much of the description is bare bones.

The greatest criticism I would make of this area is that there is very little on the interrelationships between the branches, especially anything related back to the Constitution and the separation of powers and the concept of checks and balances. There is a page and a half on the growth in presidential power and on checks on the president's power -- wholly inadequate to the task. There is also virtually nothing on war powers, much less America's relationships with the rest of the world. Given that so many of our contemporary civic controversies involve foreign policy and foreign policy powers, from arms control to aid to the "contras" in Nicaragua to human rights to international trade, this is a very disturbing omission.

Engagement

The greatest substantive strength of this book is the sensitivity it shows to citizen involvement and citizen perspective. The role of public participation and the twin notions of individual rights and individual responsibilities to the society are stressed through examples, debate subjects, and questions for the readers. Even if the authors sidestep many controversies, they do not treat their readers as idiots. They try to draw the readers into the debates they raise and to make readers think critically and separate fact from assertion. The focus on citizenship and the honest and positive attitude toward the readers is perhaps the most positive attribute of the book.

While this book is more descriptive than normative, its emphasis on the social contract and on individual rights and responsibilities suggest an underlying set of values in the book. It is far more in the overall framework and thrust than in the explicit text, however, that the values are articulated. As my earlier comments would suggest, this book does not dwell on negative aspects of American life or history or on many of the sensitive and divisive issues of our time.

Constitutional Themes

I have a major criticism of the misplacement of the sections on constitutional rights in this book. The background and history of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are much too brief and in many respects inadequate. Such subjects as the philosophical underpinnings of the Constitution (e.g., Locke and Montesquieu), the *Federalist Papers* and the debate over the Constitution, and the reasoning behind the separation of powers and checks and balances are either unmentioned or barely touched upon. While the later section on constitutional rights is more comprehensive, if largely descriptive, the poor organization of the book dilutes its impact. The "skills" insert setting out examples and ideas for debate, however, is first-rate for the level of students for whom this book is intended.

Relationships

There are brief discussions of the relationship between government and other institutions in society, such as religion, pressure groups, business, labor, and minorities. The section on the economy and government's role in it is quite good. Once again, however, the controversies in these areas are muted, and there is little depth, but, for its level, the treatment is quite adequate.

This book has more strengths than weaknesses, though it has plenty of both. Its strong visual presentation and attention to the theme of citizen role and participation make it a very good text to use in the civics classroom. Its examples and attempts to personalize issues show some real sensitivity to the needs of students confronting this difficult and, for many, boring subject. To make the ideas, concepts and facts penetrate, a civics book must be lively and attuned to what students will find relevant. However, it is far from perfect. Its organization, particularly regarding the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, is misguided. Its failure to pay attention to certain basics -- from the philosophical underpinnings of the Constitution to war powers -- is unfortunate. And its desire to avoid real controversy by ignoring or down-playing such subjects as abortion, school prayer, impeachment or deficits limits its effectiveness. On balance, though, it is a book I could recommend.

Title: ***Civics: Citizens in Action***
Authors: Mary Jane Turner et al.
Publisher: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company
Reviewer: Walter D. Broadnax

Overview

Civics: Citizens in Action is an excellent civics textbook, offering an exceptionally logical presentation of material. The book is organized around the three main areas of Features, Skills, and Illustrations. As subdivisions under Features, the authors have sections on Applying Skills, Citizens in Action, and Solving Problems. The book begins with a discussion of what civics is and, more importantly, a discussion of the role of citizens. The citizen's role is presented within the context of the various levels of government, how many govern, how much control is exerted over citizens, and the different kinds of economic systems.

The *Teacher's Annotated Edition* is also excellent. It provides the teacher with meaningful tips, examples, and guidance. The annotation for each unit begins with a suggested teaching strategy and chapter rationale that tie together the focus of the unit with approaches to presenting the material. Reading assignments and class activities are effectively designed to achieve chapter objectives, and the text provides photo caption questions, discussion ideas, skills builders, and suggested evaluation tools for testing what the students have learned.

In summary, the major strength of this text rests in its organization and a brilliant selection and use of photographs and other visual materials. As one passes from section to section, it is impossible to imagine that the reader would not be stimulated by all the color, contrasts, and changes of pace. Thus, while the book lacks depth -- due to a desire to cover a wide range of subjects and topics -- it is redeemed by its ability to grab the reader's attention and capture his imagination.

Criteria

Coverage

The book begins by giving students a solid intellectual platform from which they can grasp the concepts and ideas raised in the balance of the book. The fundamental comparisons and contrasts necessary to understanding citizenship, as well as the origins of our form of government, are thoroughly covered in the first unit.

Subsequently, the authors tackle the subject of the individual and society -- dealing effectively with the rights and responsibilities of citizens; how citizens can, do, and must work together; and the role of the electoral process in these aspects of citizenship.

After Unit Two, the authors proceed to cover state and local government in depth (structures, policy-making, and issues); the national government (legislative, executive, and judicial branches and the national bureaucracy); the American legal system and the courts; the American economic system; and finally, the United States and the world. The coverage is solid, interesting, and at times even exciting.

The Features approach contributes to this sense of excitement. The authors provide students the skills with which to analyze the news, use a library, register to vote, and fill out an income tax form. Under the heading of Citizens in Action, we find cameos of John Dickinson, Henry Cisneros, Julian Bond, Sandra Day O'Connor, and Vernon Walters. Then, to encourage problem-solving, citizens and citizen groups are depicted in Women and the Jaycees, Consumer

Protection, and Feeding the World. These examples help to bring the material to life for the reader. The problem-solving sections join prose toegether with photographs and brief biographies of famous people who are themselves problem solvers. This approach indicates clearly to the student that government is about people developing creative solutions to problems at home and abroad. Whether the problem is how to feed millions of people suffering from malnutrition or starvation in Africa or India, or how to go about cleaning up toxic waste sites in America, the players are the same -- active citizens mobilizing for change.

The book provides a well-balanced approach to our system of government, with its strengths and weaknesses played out across the entire volume. The authors also provide examples and analysis of other forms and systems of government.

Engagement

This is a terrific text. The charts, graphs, photographs, writing style, and organization all serve to vivify the subject for the student. The book is true to its title, *Civics: Citizens in Action*, in that you experience citizens in action as you proceed through this volume. As stated earlier, there are places where the excitement is virtually palpable, and nowhere does the text become tedious or boring.

Citizen participation is a major theme throughout the book. The notion that working within the framework of government can bring positive results is presented boldly in the beginning of the text and subtly played out in later chapters dealing with consumerism, foreign policy, economics and government, and international relations.

Constitutional Themes

Values and responsibilities relevant to productive citizenship are carefully interwoven both dramatically and subtly throughout this work. The root values behind the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and how they are expressed in our form of government are clearly presented, followed by a discussion of First Amendment rights and values. Coverage of such rights -- e.g., due process, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and equal protection -- are amply covered throughout the first eight chapters but specifically in Chapters Two, Four, and Five through Seven. Under duties and civic responsibilities, the authors outline attending school, obeying laws, paying taxes, defending the nation, and serving in court, as well as voluntary duties such as voting, tolerating others' views, knowing and respecting citizen rights, and generally taking part in a democratic state.

Chapter Four is especially strong in delineating the amendments to the Constitution and then discussing what the amendment was designed to achieve and why it was and is deemed important to us as citizens. Overall, the authors use the Constitution and its tenets as the foundation for this entire book.

Relationships

Discussion of the interaction between government (public sector) and business and the economy (private sector) provides a lucid view of institutional relationships. This is particularly true when the authors introduce the courts and the bureaucracy as a part of the regulatory process. Including defense as a part of foreign affairs very subtly suggests the role of the military not only in the world of military affairs but also in international relations.

The presentation of the role of the military, for example, informs the reader that power is important in the conduct of foreign relations and that military power is at least as important as economic and political power on the world stage. When dealing with friendly nations, the authors suggest that economic power can be very helpful in terms of problem-solving. This is particularly true when discussing the problems of food in various parts of the Third World.

The interdependence and interrelatedness of the United States and other countries are clearly brought out. The reader is shown how foreign trade, technology, food production, population, and the multinational corporations of many nations on this planet have brought us all closer together and made us more dependent on each other for mutual survival.

Text: ***Civics For Americans***
Authors: John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy
Publisher: Scott, Foresman and Company
Reviewer: Gloria Contreras

Overview

Civics for Americans is reasonably complete in its subject matter, providing factual information about the history, structure, and functions of the American system of government in a straightforward fashion. But the narrative lacks personality; it is devoid of moral questions, issues, and controversy that center on government. While end-of-chapter activities and other supplementary materials help bring the subject to life, the text is weakened by downplaying the complexity of real situations and their importance in context. At times, the narrative is too simple and straightforward to engage students intellectually in the topic.

The text has its sophisticated aspects. Of special value are the chapters dealing with the challenges of today's cities, consumer issues, career decisions, and global issues. The latter places the United States in an international context and draws upon sound scholarship to show the effects of global interdependence.

Civics for Americans is an average textbook. Most students will be able to read the material easily and successfully, but it is not the most thought-provoking text among its competitors.

Criteria

Coverage

Coverage of the American system of government extends beyond the essentials of the subject matter and commonly treated themes to include some bonus chapters on law and juvenile justice and on city problems, consumerism, career decisions, and international issues.

The Constitution is presented in its entirety early in the textbook. As common practice dictates, the spelling and punctuation have been modernized; those parts no longer in force have been crossed out, and an explanation of the Articles is printed alongside. Unfortunately, the student activities related to this important document fail to develop critical thinking. For example, one such activity asks students to find and name the six purposes of the Preamble of the Constitution.

In the *Teacher's Edition*, most of the evaluation activities are equally low-level recall items such as "What are the main parts of the Constitution?" and "What are the three roles of state government?" Other ill-conceived ideas involve writing a poem about the purpose of the Constitution and a letter to the editor explaining why we have a Constitution.

Another shortcoming of *Civics for Americans* is its failure to get students to think about the conflicting values of various interest groups as they are manifested in the process of resolving issues. The authors simply sidestep the controversial side of history. For example, the authors fail to mention, much less elaborate upon, *Roe* v. *Wade* or the case of Daniel Ellsberg concerning the concept of prior restraint. Also by-passed are controversial religious matters and cases such as prayer in school (*Murray* v. *Baltimore School Board*) or government aid to religious groups (*Lemon* v. *Kurtzman*). Other, more recent events and controversies in the American political system are omitted, with the most recent landmark Supreme Court cases being *Miranda* v. *Arizona* (1966) and *United States* v. *Richard Nixon* (1974).

Engagement

Civics for Americans engages students in the workings of government in a number of ways. First, the text is colorfully illustrated. But, while a number of the photographs depict young people in action (e.g., the Guardian Angels of New York; a student council meeting; individuals voting or campaigning), more should have focused on American youth. Women and minorities are presented in non-traditional roles and leadership positions. Shown are women politicians, astronaut Sally Ride, a woman architect, a women law enforcement officer, a woman roofer, and a woman technician. All the photographs that include women show them as active participants in the situations represented.

Although the illustrations are of high quality, there is little relationship between the written material and the more absorbing pictures, art, etc. For example, in an oversimplified discussion of conflict in society, there is no written reference to photographs of a group of older Americans at the polls and Iranian citizens demonstrating against the government of Shah Riza Pahlevi. In a discussion of global issues and the use of the oceans, no connection is drawn between the narrative and the photograph showing a member of Greenpeace patrolling an area where illegal whale hunting has been reported.

One engaging aspect of this text is the practice of beginning each chapter with a brief, interesting anecdote (e.g., a day in the life of a member of Congress; the pilgrims of the Mayflower; an issue before the Chicago City Council). A high-interest feature is the case study, furnished at the conclusion of each chapter, concerning critical issues and events such as the Navajo of Black Mesa, Arizona, the Watergate affair, and *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.

Another attractive feature of each chapter is the basic skills section that is designed to develop students' research abilities, map and graph skills, inductive and deductive thinking, and many other skills called for in the curriculum guidelines of the National Council for the Social Studies. The *Teacher's Annotated Edition* furnishes ample enrichment activities and evaluation strategies.

If a major purpose of *Civics for Americans* is to teach about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, that is, the critical role of the citizen in a democracy, the book should abound with examples of individual efforts that exemplify the role of the citizen. This text, however, does only a fair job of portraying significant figures who have made a difference. Included is a case study of the election of W. Wilson Goode, mayor of Philadelphia; an elaboration on the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr.; a description of Ralph Nader, founder of Public Citizen, Inc.; and a study of Howard Jarvis and California's passage of Proposition 13.

Minimal attention is given to context. Critical political events and their development could have been better discussed in the context of their times. The simplified narrative diminishes the complexity of real situations. The Constitution, for example, could have been richly presented in the context of seventeenth-century European practices. Instead, the events and beliefs of the colonial period are stated but not elaborated upon in their appropriate context.

In the copy of the Constitution furnished in Chapter Five, the parts that are no longer in force are crossed out in such a way that the original language (and thus intent) can still be clearly read. Using annotations that help clarify the meaning of the document, students can gain a better understanding and appreciation of ensuing terms, practices, and ideas within an historical framework. This twenty-three-page section gives versatile teachers ample opportunity to study major turning points in our political experience.

More historical context is needed in the discussion of how rights and freedoms have been won by women, minorities, and other groups. While contemporary beliefs are not unfairly imposed on past events, readers do not develop a strong sense of what occurred when. The exception to this weakness is the chapter dedicated to global issues. The United States is appropriately treated in an international context, and contemporary and future global challenges are suitably examined.

Constitutional Themes

An analysis of the constitutional principles that ensure a healthy democracy is paramount in any government text. *Civics for Americans* conducts this important task in the following fashion. First, Chapter Five, "Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship," describes how the Constitution has been amended to extend the rights and freedoms of citizens. Each amendment in the Bill of Rights is briefly mentioned as are the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-Third, Twenty-Fourth, and Twenty-Sixth Amendments. The follow-up section on the civil rights movement is a disappointment, however. While the great achievements of the past are emphasized, only two statements address the ongoing challenge of achieving equal opportunity for all citizens. In fact, the section ends with President Ronald Reagan's rhetoric at the twentieth anniversary of the "I Have a Dream" speech of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Each unit is enhanced by a "Law and Freedom" feature that focuses on basic legal concepts and issues. The topics include: what is constitutional government; the right to free speech; the president's veto power; the right to fair representation in government; equality before the law; the right to privacy; jury duty; making a contract; and the Constitution and the world. These articles are sufficiently thought-provoking, and they effectively relate American liberties and freedoms to the lives of students. Other case studies, such as "You be the Jury" and "The Twenty-Sixth Amendment" also enable students to better understand and interpret the Constitution.

Relationships

Civics for Americans examines the relationships among the three branches of government, but in an overly straightforward, uncreative manner. For example, there is no elaboration of their changing influence throughout history in Chapter Four, "The Constitution -- Our Plan for Government." Only a chart is furnished to show the checks and balances in the federal government. However, the previously mentioned "Law and Freedom" supplementary activities address a number of important governmental relationships, such as the president's veto power over Congress. An elaboration about the Watergate affair shows how President Nixon was forced from office according to the rules of the Constitution, and how Vice-President Gerald Ford replaced President Nixon according to constitutional law.

The relationship between the government and interest groups and political parties is discussed in a unit called "How Citizens Influence Government." It examines why citizens join interest groups, and how these groups influence government. Political parties in the United States are described, as is their declining influence on elections and legislation. However, the text offers no examples of this decline.

The role of economics is not suitably integrated into the discussion of the history, structure, and functions of the American government. Basic economic and business concepts are spelled out in the two chapters that cover different kinds of economic systems and business organizations. Much more relevant to the lives of students are the chapters dealing with consumer issues and career decisions. *Civics for Americans* gets high marks for its attention to global issues, particularly for addressing the growing economic inequality between developed and developing countries and the implications of this split.

Coverage of the relationship between government and education, science, and technology is inadequate, however. A poor account is furnished of technology's relationship to productivity in an economy, and the topics of education and science are underrepresented.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Joan Arnow
James Autry
Marjorie Craig Benton
Reverend Dr. Charles Bergstrom
Jeffrey Berkowitz
Mary Frances Berry
Father Robert J. Brooks
Honorable John Buchanan
Bob Burkett
Don Cameron
Arthur Chotin
David Cohen
Richard Dennis, Jr.
Father Robert Drinan
Timothy Dyk
Coy Eklund
Frederick Field
Harris Gilbert
Judy Goldenberg
Andrew Heiskell
Stanley Hirsh
Adelaide Hixon
Reverend M. William Howard
Mike Hudson
Honorable Barbara Jordan
Norman Lear
Margaret McKenna
Katherine Mountcastle
Laurie Ostrow
Max Palevsky
Anthony T. Podesta
David Ramage
Deborah Rheuban
Rabbi David Saperstein
Vidal Sassoon
Paul David Schaeffer
Thaleia Schlesinger
Reverend William M. Schulz
Martin Sheen
Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Clyde (Ev) Shorey
Howard Squadron
Margery Tabankin
Ira D. Wallach
Bernice Weissbourd
Anne Wexler
Bernard Winograd

NOTES

Additional copies of this book
may be obtained from:

People For The American Way
The non-partisan constitutional liberties organization.

1424 16th Street, N.W., Suite 601
Washington, D.C. 20036